UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

A Study of Clergymen: Work, Ideas and Politics

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Sociology

by

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To

EMILY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF TABLES. vii

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS xii

VITA. xiv

ABSTRACT. xv

CHAPTER

I INTRODUCTION 1

The Problem 1
Theoretical Foundations 2
Variables 4
Outline 7

REFERENCES 8

II METHODOLOGY. 9

Sample. 9
Measures of Association 12
Tests of Significance 14

REFERENCES 16

III ATTITUDES TOWARD AND INVOLVEMENT IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES. 17

Attitudes Toward Social and Political Issues. 17
Participation in Social Protest 32
Effects of Respondents' Religious Denomination, Age, Education and Race for Attitudes Toward and Participation in Social and Political Issues. 35
Conclusion. 39

REFERENCES 42

Page

IV THEOLOGY AND CULTURAL POSTULATES. 43

- Theology 44
- Orthodoxy. 53
  - Doctrinal Orthodoxy 54
  - Devotionalism 62
- Cultural Postulates. 64
  - Free Will-Determinism 65
  - Capitalism and The Protestant Ethic 72
- Intervening Variables in the Relationships Between Ideas and Social and Political Issues. 79
  - Interest in Social and Political Issues. 80
  - Powerlessness 82
- Conclusions. 90

REFERENCES. 94

V WORK. 96

- Pastors Descriptions of Their Work 98
- Alienation 101
- Some Possible Reactions of Clergy to Their Work: Dissatisfaction, Retirement and Unionization. 122
- Effect of Work for Social and Political Issues With Importance of Work Controlled. 129
- Perceptions of Change in Political Orientation Since Joining the Clergy . . 130
- Conclusion 138
- Epilogue 140

REFERENCES. 143

VI ENTERING THE CLERGY 144

- Age. 145
- Respondents Most Important Reason for Entering the Clergy 148
- Specific Religious Experience Influencing Decision to Enter the Clergy 151
- Religious Denomination in Which the Respondent was Raised. 153
- Work Experience Prior to Entering the Clergy 155
- The Clergy as a First or Second Choice Occupation. 158

Page

Socioeconomic Status of the Pastor's Family of Origin. 164
Change in Political Orientation Since Joining the Clergy 176
Conclusion 177

REFERENCES. 180

VII CONCLUSION. 181

Findings 181
Limitations of Study 187
A Dilemma of the Church. 188
The Clergy and Social Change 189
Toward a Typology of the Clergy. 192

REFERENCES. 194

APPENDIX 195

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
II-1	Religious Denomination and Return of Mail Questionnaires	12
III-1	Respondents' Self Placement of General Liberalism-Conservatism	22
III-2	Frequency Distribution of Political Party Preferences	22
III-3	Attitudes on Economic Issues	23
III-4	Strategy Most Preferred for the Negro Movement	24
III-5	Attitudes Toward Discrimination in Sale and Rental of Housing	25
III-6	Attitudes Toward the Civil Rights Movement	25
III-7	Level of Civil Liberties Respondents are Willing to Grant Members of the John Birch Society	27
III-8	Level of Civil Liberties Respondents are Willing to Grant Members of the American Communist Party	27
III-9	Attitudes Toward the Anti-Vietnam War Movement	28
III-10	Strategy Which Respondents Prefer the United States Government Would Adopt for the Vietnam Situation	28
III-11	Attitudes Toward Capital Punishment	29
III-12	Correlation Matrix (gamma) of Positions on Social and Political Issues	31
III-13	Liberalism-Conservatism and Participation in Civil Rights Activities	34
III-14	Liberalism-Conservatism and Participation in Anti-Vietnam War Activities	34
III-15	Participation in Civil Rights and Anti-Vietnam War Activities	35

Table		Page
III-16	Religious Denomination and Liberalism-Conservatism	36
III-17	Religious Denomination and Participation in Civil Rights Activities	37
III-18	Religious Denomination and Participation in Anti-Vietnam War Activities	38
IV-1	Religious Denomination and Theology	49
IV-2	Relationships of Theology With Positions on Social and Political Issues	50
IV-3	Theology and Index of Liberalism-Conservatism	51
IV-4	Theology and Civil Rights Participation	52
IV-5	Theology and Anti-Vietnam War Participation	53
IV-6	Theology and Doctrinal Orthodoxy Items	57
IV-7	Religious Denominations and Doctrinal Orthodoxy Items	59
IV-8	Theology and Devotionalism	63
IV-9	Theology and Free Will-Determinism	66
IV-10	Free Will-Determinism and Belief in Punishment After Death	68
IV-11	Free Will-Determinism and Capital Punishment	71
IV-12	Theology and Collective Responsibility-Self Reliance	77
IV-13	Religious Denomination and Collective Responsibility-Self Reliance	77
IV-14	Relationships (gamma) of Collective Responsibility-Self Reliance with Positions on Social and Political Issues	79
IV-15	Theology and Interest in Social and Political Issues	81

Table		Page
IV-16	Individual Powerlessness and Participation in Anti-Vietnam War Activities	86
IV-17	Group Powerlessness and Participation in Anti-Vietnam War Activities	86
IV-18	Group Powerlessness and Participation in Anti-Vietnam War Activities with Liberalism-Conservatism Controlled	88
IV-19	Relationships (gamma) of Powerlessness With Religious Ideas and Cultural Postulates	89
V-1	Religious Denomination and Importance Respondents Ascribe to Their Work	100
V-2	Religious Denomination and Amount of Interesting Activity Respondents Find in Their Work	104
V-3	Religious Denomination and Respondents Perceptions of How Often Their Work Gives Them a Chance to Try Ideas of Their Own	106
V-4	Religious Denomination and Respondents Perceptions of the Amount of Control They Have Over Their Work	107
V-5	Religious Denomination and Intra-Faith Occupational Community Involvement	112
V-6	Religious Denomination and Inter-Faith Occupational Community Involvement	113
V-7	Religious Denomination and Inter-Faith Clergy Contacts	119
V-8	Religious Denomination and Interracial Clergy Contacts	120
V-9	Religious Denomination and Work Satisfaction	124
V-10	Religious Denomination and Type of Occupational Organization Preferred	127
V-11	Relationships (gamma) of Type of Occupational Organization Preferred With Work Alienation	128

Table		Page
V-12	Religious Denomination and Change in Political Orientation Since Joining the Clergy	133
V-13	Relationships (gamma) of Change in Political Orientation since Joining the Clergy With Respondents' Description of Aspects of the Work and Reactions to Their Work	135
V-14	Theology and Change in Political Orientation Since Joining the Clergy	137
VI-1	Age and Entering the Clergy Among the Religious Denominations	146
VI-2	Religious Denomination and the Most Important Reason for Entering the Clergy	150
VI-3	Religious Denomination and Influence of a Specific Religious Experience in Joining the Clergy	152
VI-4	Present Religious Denomination of Clergy and Religious Denomination in Which the Respondent was Brought Up	154
VI-5	Religious Denomination and Work Experience Before Entering the Clergy	157
VI-6	Religious Denomination and Occupational Preference at Time of Joining the Clergy	160
VI-7	Religious Denomination and Present Occupational Preference	160
VI-8	Occupational Preference at the Time of Joining the Clergy and Liberalism-Conservatism	162
VI-9	Present Occupational Preference and Liberalism-Conservatism	163
VI-10	Religious Denomination and Fathers Occupation	167
VI-11	Religious Denomination and Fathers' Educational Attainment Level	169

Table		Page
VI-12	Religious Denomination and Mothers' Educational Attainment Level	171
VI-13	Intergenerational Occupational Mobility and Liberalism-Conservatism	174

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Study of Clergymen: Work, Ideas and Politics

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The general questions posed in this research were:

(1) How divided are the clergy regarding positions on public issues and involvement in social protest?

(2) What are some of the factors associated with positions clergy take on public issues and involvement in social protest?

(3) How do factors hypothesized to be relevant to positions clergy take on public issues and involvement in social protest relate to one another?

Studying clergymen enabled a simultaneous focusing on the role of ideas and the effects of the individual's work for attitudes toward (and involvement in) public issues.

A random sample of 600 pastors in the Los Angeles area of the following religious denominations were mailed questionnaires: (1) Roman Catholic, (2) American Baptist, (3) Protestant Episcopal, (4) United Methodist and (5) United Church of Christ. Three hundred twenty questionnaires were returned by respondents which represented a 54 per cent return rate. Responses of pastors were analyzed by examining interrelations among: (1) factors associated with individuals entering the clergy, (2) aspects of the work situation and the clergyman's responses to his work situation, (3) commitment of respondents to ideas which are hypothesized as relevant for attitudes toward and involvement in social and political issues and (4) attitudes toward and involvement in social and political issues.

Respondents tended to be at least "somewhat liberal" on social and political issues. About one-half of the respondents had taken part in the civil rights movement and about one-fourth had engaged in anti-Vietnam war activities.

Theology and cultural postulates generally were highly predictive of attitudes toward and involvement in public issues. The ordinal categories of liberal, neo-orthodox, conservative and fundamentalist were used for the respondents self classification of his theology. Theological self classification was positively associated with liberalism on public issues and social protest participation. Cultural postulates in this study were free will-determinism and collective responsibility-self reliance. Those taking the determinist and collective responsibility positions usually were liberal on public issues and involved in social

protest while the opposite was the case for those taking the free will and self reliance positions.

Another focus of this study was work alienation. Pastors were not usually alienated in their work. Items used to measure work alienation did not usually predict positions on public issues or theology.

Intergenerational occupational mobility was negatively associated with liberalism on public issues. Intergenerational occupational mobility predicted theology in a weaker fashion than was the case for public issues. The respondent's most important reason for entering the clergy was predictive of positions on public issues as well as theology. The clergy as presently a second choice occupation and the influence of a specific religious experience on joining the clergy were association with public issues and theology. Factors associated with decisions to enter the clergy did not predict pastors attitudes toward their work.

For these respondents the dimensionality conception of liberalism-conservatism was not an effective interpreter of respondents positions on public issues. Liberalism-conservatism on one issue was associated with similar positions on other issues. Additionally, respondents who were consistently liberal on all issues investigated were much more likely to participate in civil rights and anti-Vietnam war activities than those of lesser consistency. Almost all anti-Vietnam war participants had taken part in civil rights activities but the reverse was not the case.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

The increase in social protest during recent years with clergy often involved would singularly legitimate the general questions of this research. How divided are the clergy regarding positions on public issues and involvement in social protest? What are some of the factors associated with positions clergy take on public issues and involvement in social protest? How do factors hypothesized to be relevant to positions clergy take on public issues and involvement in social protest relate to one another?

In addition to interest engendered from current social protest, focusing on the clergy affords a juncture for the study of two questions which have historically generated much scholarly interest and debate: the role of ideas in social action and the effects of individuals' work on their behavior. Some characteristics of the clergy attest to this juncture. Clergy "work with ideas." Some of the ideas with which clergy work have potential relevance for clergymen's attitudes toward and involvement in public issues. As with all occupations, the clergy is cast in the "drama of work" with its potential frustrations and satisfactions.

This research proposes to examine some interrelations among: (1) factors associated with individuals entering the clergy, (2) aspects of the work situations and the clergy's responses to the work situation, (3) commitment of the clergy to ideas which are hypothesized as relevant for attitudes toward and involvements in social and political issues, and (4) clergy's attitudes toward and involvement in social and political issues.

Theoretical Foundations

Although working from different theoretical suppositions, Marx and Weber posit individuals' ideas and work as crucial determinants of their behavior.

Although seemingly unsettled in his thinking, Marx appeared to believe, unlike Weber, that religious ideas are unlikely to stimulate individuals into attempting social change. Derivatives from both scholars suggest that participation in organized social movements is inhibited by not locating the source of discontent at least party with the present social structure and ideas which negate the value or possibility of individuals deliberately changing society.

Marx visualized work in capitalist society as an important source of alienation which would eventually prod individuals into attempting to bring about a new social system. Weber illustrated with the Protestant ethic how he felt work could reduce anxiety produced by religious beliefs. Implicit in Weber's notion of work reducing anxiety is that motivation for attempting social change is reduced. Ironically, Weber's anticipation of the major outcome of capitalism, bureaucracy, specifies the mechanism by which Marx hypothesized produces alienation from work. Weber didn't emphasize alienation as a result of bureaucracy and Marx is not specific as to the formal organization which will produce alienation. Thus notions of Marx and Weber concerning work bring to attention meaning individuals assign to their work.

Convergences of Marxian and Weberian theories are found in contemporary mass society theory. The individual in a complex industrialized society is essentially isolated. Effective intermediary groups allowing the individual some control over the state are absent. As work becomes more bureaucratic, the individual loses control over his work. Persons believe that their existence consists of powerless, meaningless responses to events. Norms which supposedly guide behavior are contradictory, vague or nonexistent.

The social psychological effects of mass society include extreme and/or erratic positions of social and political issues. Low levels of participation and knowledge concerning public issues also are anticipated.

Variables

Attitudes toward and involvement in social and political issues serve as the dependent variables. Factors associated with entering the clergy, work situations and responses to the situations and ideas will generally be regarded as independent variables. Attempting to achieve greater analytical power, some of the variables usually regarded as independent variables will sometimes assue the status of dependent variables. To illustrate, if work satisfaction were found associated with participation in social protest, the relationships among other variables with work satisfaction might be analyzed. Variables generally defined as dependent variables will sometimes be used as independent variables. Attitudes toward public issues, for example, will be employed as an explanation for participation in social protest.

Several items, at times, will be used to measure a theoretical concept; the interrelations among these items will be reported. Interrelations among items designed to measure the same theoretical concept afford clues as to the reliability of measures and possibilities of added dimensions of the theoretical concept. If the items are weakly associated with one another, reliability of the measures might be questionable. Negative correlations among items could suggest added dimension(s) of the theoretical concept. Items occasionally will be combined into an index in an attempt to gain a more effective measure of a concept.

The following are the variables investigated by this research. The question number is listed for each variable.

I. Attitudes toward and involvement in social and political issues
    A. Attitudes
        1. Political self identification [52]
        2. Economic [50]
        3. Political party preference [51]
        4. Civil liberties [47, 48]
        5. Vietnam policy preference [46]
        6. Civil rights movement [38]
        7. Anti-Vietnam war activities [39]
        8. Discrimination in sale and rental of housing [56]
        9. Strategy preference for Negroes [57]
        10. Capital punishment [36]
    B. Activities
        1. Civil rights [44]
        2. Anti-Vietnam war [45]
    C. Respondents' perceptions of the effects of membership in the clergy on their individual political orientations [43]

II. Ideas
    A. Religious doctrinal orthodoxy [30, 31, 32, 33]
    B. Religious devotionalism [29]

- C. Punitiveness [35, 54]
- D. Interest in social and political issues [37]
- E. Theology self identification [53]
- F. Free will determinism [34]
- G. Protestant in relation to capitalist ethic [58, 59]
- H. Powerlessness [42, 49]

III. Work

- A. The amount of life's interest in work [15]
- B. Attitudes toward retirement [16]
- C. Meaningfulness of work [17]
- D. Work powerlessness [18, 19]
- E. Work satisfaction [20]
- F. Occupational community [21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27]
- G. Preference for type of occupational organization [28]

IV. Factors concerning individuals entrance into the clergy

- A. Age at decision to enter the clergy [2, 3]
- B. Clergy as a first or second choice occupation [4, 5]
- C. Most important reason for entering the clergy [6]
- D. The influence of a religious experience on entering the clergy [7]

E. Family background [8, 9, 10, 11, 12]
F. Age of entrance into clergy [13]
G. Work experience prior to enterance in the clergy [15]

Some other characteristics of respondents will be considered especially when these items might explain certain relationships among variables: (1) religious denomination [1], (2) educational background [62], (3) age [60], and (4) race or ethnicity [61].

Outline

Chapter II will describe the methodology of this study. The sample employed and reasons for such a sample will be set forth. The manner in which the data were analyzed and reported in the research is given.

Since questions concerning the variables pertaining to attitudes toward and involvement in social and political issues necessitate an attempt at some resolution, the findings of the variables generally regarded as dependent variables are given in Chapter II. Chapters IV, V, and VI deal with ideas, work and factors associated with entrance into the clergy respectively. The final chapter provides a summary of findings and discusses some of their implications, cautions and limitations.

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CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Sample

As is the case generally, this study's sampling procedures required decisions in which gains often were acquired at the necessity of certain losses. Survey research objectives include generalizations for relations among items to a population by means of a sample. Capacity to generalize often must be weakened to strengthen the possibilities of ascertaining relations, as well as the reverse.

One hundred twenty questionnaires were mailed to pastors randomly drawn from the church directories for the Los Angeles area supplied to me by each of the five denominations included in the study. A total of six hundred questionnaires were mailed and there were no follow-up questionnaires to nonrespondents.

Even with this small sample size, more efficient sampling methods could have been utilized if generalizing about some characteristic had been the prime consideration. To illustrate, if the objective were to discover the percentage of pastors who planned to vote Republican in the

1968 presidential election, drawing a sample of pastors of all denominations would allow generalizations to a larger population than is possible from this study. Employing a sample size of six hundred for one denomination would have yielded more knowledge about that denomination. Public opinion agencies use sample sizes of from roughly one thousand to thirty-five hundred respondents. Even with a high return rate this study could not have obtained the generalizing precision of traditionally acceptable public opinion polling. For this study, investigating relations among certain factors had priority over precisely generalizing descriptive characteristics to a population. Consequently, the ability to generalize findings of this study to the population from which the sample was drawn is imprecise.

Due to limited resources, only Christian pastors[1] were studied: Roman Catholic, Protestant Episcopal, United Church of Christ,[2] United Methodist and American Baptist. An attempt was made to study Assembly of God and Southern Baptist pastors but the Assembly of God refused to furnish a directory of churches and the Southern Baptist directory was provided too late to be included in the study. The selection of the denominations which were planned for this study produced the most variation for responses to questionnaire items in addition to representing about as large a portion of this country's church membership as possible from that number of denominations. Without a spread of responses there was little potential for finding relations among items. For example, if all respondents have the same beliefs about Jesus, it is impossible to observe associations between beliefs about Jesus and other questionnaire items. Some denominational differences which might produce a spread include church organizational structures, characteristics of laity and backgrounds of pastors. Considerations of previous related research also influenced the nature of the sample used in this research.

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[1] A "minister" is a member of the Protestant clergy comparable to priests and rabbis of the Roman Catholic and Jewish faiths. A "pastor" is analogous to a commanding officer in a military context. A pastor is in charge of a particular religious entity such as a church or mission. See Bergen and Cornelia Evans, "Pastor, Minister," A Dictionary of Contemporary American Usage (New York: Random House, 1957), p. 358.

[2] The United Church of Christ is a recent merger. The Congregational Church was the largest denomination in the merger.

Survey research leaves some imprecision resulting from the inability to obtain responses from the entire sample. Nonrespondents may differ from respondents in such a way as to affect research results. With increasing application of research findings the uncertainty of research conclusions will lessen. Presently, extreme pessimism pertaining to the validity of survey research findings is unwarranted. Public opinion agencies have a standard error of about three per cent in the prediction of elections and almost never have a completion rate of 100 per cent.

This study has 323 respondents or a response rate of

54 per cent. The smallest response rate was from Roman Catholics with 36 per cent. Protestant Episcopal pastors returned the highest number of questionnaires, 67 per cent and the total Protestant return rate was 57 per cent.

Table II-1

Religious Denomination and Return of Mail Questionnaires

Denomination	Return Rate	Total Number
	%	
Roman Catholic	36	(43)
United Church of Christ	52	(62)
American Baptist	55	(69)
United Methodist	55	(69)
Protestant Episcopal	67	(80)
Over-all Return Rate	54	(323)

Measures of Association

An important traditional criterion for the appropriateness of using a measure of association has been the level of measurement which can be ascribed to the data. One of the most powerful and widely used measure of association is known by many label such as Pearson's coefficient of correlation or r. Although the requirement is being debated among scholars, the r has traditionally required an interval level of measurement. The conservative traditional position will be adhered to and r will not be used. Ordinal is the highest level which can be assigned to most of these data.

The measure of association, usually called lambda, will be employed when data do not meet the ordinal level of measurement and I feel that a measure of association especially is needed. The choice of lambda is primarily because other nominal measures such as phi and C are difficult to interpret since they can take on a value other than 1 when the association is perfect. The general model of lambda corresponds to r^2. Lambda gives the proportional reduction of error that knowledge of one variable affords in the prediction of the other variable. When one variable is being predicted from the other variable, lambda is as asymmetrical. The two asymmetrical coefficients of lambda can be combined into an over-all index of the proportional reduction of error which is symmetrical.

The measure of association most commonly known as gamma or G will be employed for ordinal data. The basic formula for gamma is $\left\{\frac{\text{concordance-discordance}}{\text{concordance+discordance}}\right\}$. Gamma is symmetrical and its interpretation is analagous to r^2 and lambda in terms of its proportional reduction of error. A gamma of -.50 reveals that the relationship is negative and knowledge of one variable reduces error by 50 per cent in predicting the other variable.

Gamma can exhibit an important shortcoming. The formula for gamma in a 2X2 table is the same as Q $\left\{\frac{ad-bc}{ad+bc}\right\}$; moving left to right a and b represent the top cells and c and d the bottom of the table.

When one cell has no cases, gamma becomes 1. Traditional interpretation of a perfect measure of association requires two cells devoid of cases so that there is an absence of concordance or discordance. If gamma in this research approaches unity as a result of only one cell having few cases, it will be indicated.

No convention exists for the labels that are appropriate for various values of measures of association. The research will describe gammas as follows: (1) under .10 is not considered noteworthy and will be reported as no association, (2) .10 - .19 is weak or low, (3) .20 - .49 is moderate or medium, (4) .50 - .74 is strong or high and (5) .75 + is very strong or very high.

Tests of Significance

A debate[3] has continued for about the past decade in sociology as to the appropriateness of using tests of significance in survey research. Critics assert that since survey research departs so markedly from the experimental design on which tests of significances are based, such tests lose their utility. Much of the doubt concerning conclusions from sociological research generally will not be resolved until applications of research findings are enacted into social policies. Until the validity of research findings is tested by applications, tests of significance provide additional criteria for evaluating research without eliminating the considerable uncertainty.

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[3] S. M. Lipset, et al., Union Democracy (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books of Doubleday and Company, 1962), pp. 480-485. The study was first published in 1956; H. C. Selvin, "A Critique of Tests of Significance in Survey Research," American Sociological Review, 22 (October, 1957), 519-527; R. McGinnis, "Randomization and Inference in Sociological Research," American Sociological Review, 23 (August, 1958), 408-414; L. Kish, "Some Statistical Problems in Research Design," American Sociological Review, 24 (June, 1959), 328-338; David Gold, "Statistical Tests and Substantive Significance," The American Sociologist, 4 (February, 1969), 42-46.

Sociology often exhibits fetish ritualism concerning the level of significance at which research findings are accepted. The probability at which a measure of association value could have resulted if variables were independent and be accepted by researchers is very often .01 and .05. Such levels can overly restrict considerations of potentially important findings especially when the number of respondents is small. Based on the chi square test of independence, or the gamma Z score, this research will report values of measures of association with a probability of independence of 20 per cent or less. Such a reporting procedure will provide additional information for the reader who believes that the .05 level is sometimes overly restrictive and will not hamper those of dissimilar views.

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CHAPTER III

ATTITUDES TOWARD AND INVOLVEMENT IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES

This chapter will afford answers as to how clergy are divided on attitudes toward and involvement in social and political issues by examining: (1) relationships among ten measures of attitudes toward social and political issues, (2) associations between attitudes toward social and political issues and participation in social protest, and (3) effects of religious denomination, age, education and race of respondents on attitudes toward and involvement in social and political issues.

Attitudes Toward Social and Political Issues

A summarizing construct of individuals' positions on current public issues is left-right or liberal-conservative; the latter will be the labels used in this research. The term left-right came into vogue during the French revolution when members of parliament supporting the revolution sat on the left while supporters of the old order occupied seats on the right. Conservatism currently infers general support for the status quo while liberalism promotes change.

The liberalism-conservatism concept at present is especially plagued by questions of dimensionality, how consistently liberal or conservative individuals are concerning the various public issues. Lipset[1] suggested two dimensions. "Working class authoritarianism" is associated with low support for civil liberties while approving liberal economic policies. Higher status individuals while conservative on economic issues are asserted to be more liberal than the "working classes" concerning civil liberties. Kelly and Chambliss[2] suggested four dimensions of liberalism-conservatism: welfare, civil rights, civil liberties, and foreign affairs. With gammas of .21, .55, .35, .16, .49, and .62 among the pairing of the four dimensions employed, Kelly and Chambliss concluded that the liberalism-conservatism was more properly a dimensional instead of a unitary concept. Kelly and Chambliss criticized Lenski and Kenkel for using only economic issues to define political radicalism in their research pertaining to status congruence and political radicalism.

Although considering only the foreign policy issue, Hamilton[3] offered data as a detraction from the dimensionality theory of liberalism-conservatism. In 1952 and 1964 national public opinion polls, respondents who were more supportive of "tougher" policies for Korea and Vietnam respectively were most frequent among: (1) highly educated, (2) high status occupations, (3) high income, (4) younger age groups, (5) highly interested in politics and (6) those paying much attention to newspapers and magazines. These advocates of tough foreign policies bear little resemblance to Lipset's working class authoritarians.

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[1] S. M. Lipset, Political Man (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1960), pp. 97-130.

[2] Dennis Kelly and William Chambliss, "Status Consistency and Political Attitudes," American Sociological Review, 31 (June, 1966), 375-382.

[3] Richard Hamilton, "A Research Note on the Mass Support for 'Tough' Military Initiatives," American Sociological Review, 33 (June, 1968), 439-445.

Tygart and Holt[4] in an analysis of data from a sample of UCLA male students questioned the dimensionality theory of liberalism-conservatism. If dimensionality of liberalism-conservatism characterized a sample, respondents should be unable to place their general political orientations on a seven point scale ranging from "radical left" to "radical right" or the labeling should have little relation to positions taken on various issues. UCLA respondents appeared unhampered by any dimensionality of political orientation in their ability to label their political orientations. About the same number (3 per cent) failed to place themselves on a liberalism-conservatism continuum as did for the question on political party preference. Respondents' self placements on the seven point liberalism-conservatism continuum were strongly and consistently related to: (1) political party preference, (2) attitudes toward the civil rights movements, (3) attitudes toward the Vietnam conflict, and (4) support for civil liberties. These four dimensions were strongly, consistently interrelated with gammas ranging from .56 to .87 with a mean of .70.

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[4] C. E. Tygart and Norman Holt, "On the Dimensionality of Liberalism-Conservatism," read before the Pacific Sociological Association's Annual Meeting, Seattle, Washington, April, 1969.

From a careful examination of data advanced by Kelly and Chambliss in support of the dimensionality of liberalism-conservatism, Tygart and Holt suggest that the Kelly and Chambliss data do not warrant such a contention. With pairings of the four issues employed, Kelly and Chambliss obtained gammas ranging from .16 to .62 with a mean of .40. The measures which Kelly and Chambliss obtained are not as strong as desired and hardly support the dimensionality theory of liberalism-conservatism. Measures of association of similar strength to those obtained by Kelly and Chambliss were reported by Maranell as "relatively strong correlations."

Maranell[5] investigated religious and political attitude correlates of anti-Negro and anti-Jewish sentiments among a sample of undergraduate college students. Although dimensionality of political attitudes was not explicitly discussed, thirteen aspects of political attitudes were included in a twenty-three item matrix. Four items which seemed similar to those used in the Tygart and Holt and the Kelly and Chambliss research were extracted: anti-Negro, anti-welfare, anti-civil liberties and anti-foreign aid. Foreign aid probably has been eclipsed by the Vietnam conflict as the central issue in foreign affairs and is, perhaps, comparable to Kelly and Chambliss but not to the Tygart and Holt research. Interrelations among the four extracted items of Maranell's research ranged from gammas of .28 to .53 with a mean of .40.

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[5] Gary Maranell, "An Examination of Some Religious and Political Attitudes Correlate of Bigotry," Social Forces, 45 (June, 1967), 356-362.

This research does not support the dimensionality theory of liberalism-conservatism. When asked to label their positions on most issues of the day on a seven point continuum ranging from "ultra liberal" to "ultra conservative," respondents displayed almost no inability to do so. From the standpoints of mean, median and mode, self placements on the liberalism-conservatism converge on about the "somewhat liberal" category. Examination of respondents' positions on the issues investigated by this research indicate that respondents generally are justified in classifying their positions of most issues of the day as somewhat liberal.

Political party preference has the weakest association with self placement on the liberalism than any issue investigated. Only slightly more clergy called themselves Democrats than Republicans even though the Democratic Party usually is considered more liberal than the Republican

Table III-1

Respondents' Self Placement of General Liberalism-Conservatism (Q. 52)

	%	Total Number
Ultra-liberal	2	(7)
Very liberal	14	(45)
Somewhat liberal	41	(130)
Middle of the road	18	(59)
Somewhat conservative	21	(67)
Very conservative	4	(13)
Ultra-conservative	--	(--)

Party. This sample is more Republican than the most recent Gallup public opinion poll of a national sample which was 45 per cent Democratic and 30 per cent Republican although probably more Democratic than those of the general population with comparable education and occupational prestige.

Table III-2

Frequency Distribution of Political Party Preferences (Q. 51)

	%	Total Number
Republican	39	(123)
Democratic	41	(130)
None or "Independent"	19	(61)

(Five respondents supported the Peace and Freedom Party and one the American Independent Party)

Responses to the item used to measure economic attitudes in this study are strongly contrary to Lipset's notion of the middle class being liberal on civil rights and civil liberties while conservative on economic matters. Clergy of this study usually favored greater governmental involvement in economic welfare than is presently being pursued.

Table III-3

Attitudes on Economic Issues (Q. 50)

	%	Total Number
Less governmental involvement	17	(55)
Present level of governmental involvement	13	(40)
More governmental involvement	44	(139)
Favor minimum income for all citizens	26	(84)

Respondents were inclined in the area of civil rights to take the most liberal position instead of the somewhat liberal alternative; this is especially the case with the issues of discrimination in the sale and rental of housing and favorability toward the civil rights movement. In the 1964 election, voters of California gave over 60 per cent approval to an initiative which was essentially the same as the most conservative alternative presented in the housing discrimination item of this questionnaire. Only 12 per cent of the clergy of this study supported the most conservative position on the issue of housing discrimination. Although there is some question as to when the clergy assumed this position, clergy of this study indicate that they generally are committed to advancing civil rights.

The greater commitment of the clergy than the general population to the advancement of civil rights is illustrated by results obtained by Morris and Jeffries[6] in a cross-sectional study of respondents in six Los Angeles communities. Morris and Jeffries used the same question as this study and their results are included in Table III-4.

Table III-4

Strategy Most Preferred for the Negro Movement (Q. 57)

	This Study %	Total Number	Morris and Jeffries %
Movement should be stopped	2	(5)	5
Stop pushing so hard	33	(106)	68
Keep the pressure on	59	(188)	17
Use violence if nonviolence doesn't work	6	(19)	1

Attempting to gain a balanced measurement of support for civil liberties, a rightist dissident group, the John Birch Society, was included in the instrument as well as the traditional American Communist Party. Measurements of

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[6] Richard Morris and Vincent Jeffries, "The White Reaction Study," Institute of Government and Public Affairs, University of California, Los Angeles, 1968, p. 30.

Table III-5

Attitudes Toward Discrimination in Sale and Rental of Housing (Q. 56)

	%	Total Number
Opposed to anti-discrimination laws	12	(38)
Opposed to laws because they are unenforceable	11	(35)
Favor laws for large apartments and tract homes	7	(24)
Discimination is morally wrong and should be prohibited	70	(221)

Table III-6

Attitudes Toward the Civil Rights Movement (Q. 38)

	%	Total Number
Very positive	57	(181)
Somewhat positive	33	(105)
Indifferent	3	(9)
Somewhat negative	6	(21)
Very negative	1	(4)

support for civil liberties usually have contained only questions about respondents' willingness to restrict civil liberties of leftist groups such as communists and socialists.[7] With only considerations of restricting civil liberties of leftists, a research finding that leftist respondents are less restrictive of civil liberties than rightist respondents is not striking. Members of the John Birch Society were generally afforded a higher level of civil liberties than communists. The mean responses were to allow John Birch Society members teaching privileges in a public university and communists speaking privileges in a public auditorium. Fifty-one per cent placed no restrictions on John Birch Society members while 21 per cent would do likewise for communists. Placing no restrictions on communists was highly predictive of no restrictions for the John Birch Society (97 per cent), however, of those not restricting the John Birch Society, only 54 per cent were without restrictions for communists. This sample is much more civil libertarian than Stouffer's study,[8] both for the general population and community leaders, concerning leftist dissidents. Stouffer did not consider the restricting of civil liberties of rightist dissidents.

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[7] Norman Holt and C. E. Tygart, "Political Tolerance and Higher Education," Pacific Sociological Review (forthcoming in Spring, 1969 issue).

Measurements of foreign policy attitudes for this research center on the Vietnam war controversy which overshadows other foreign policy questions. Respondents' foreign policy views generally are somewhat liberal. The policy most preferred for Vietnam is a gradual withdrawal

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[8] Samuel Stouffer, Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1955).

Table III-7

Level of Civil Liberties Respondents are Willing to Grant Members of the John Birch Society (Q. 47)

	%	Total Number
None of the following activities	5	(17)
Publish views in a national magazine	4	(12)
Give a speech in a public auditorium	29	(91)
Teach in a public university	11	(33)
Teach in a public high school	51	(158)

Table III-8

Level of Civil Liberties Respondents are Willing to Grant Members of the American Communist Party (Q. 48)

	%	Total Number
None of the following activities	18	(55)
Public views in a national magazine	9	(29)
Give a speech in a public auditorium	33	(104)
Teach in a public university	12	(38)
Teach in a public high school	28	(89)

of United States troops and then provide material and technical assistance to the South Vietnam government. Recent national public opinion polls have shown a majority preference for the gradual withdrawal alternative. Little support is shown in this study for the United States maintaining present level or increasing involvement in Vietnam. Respondents tended to feel somewhat positive about the anti-Vietnam war movement which is less than the very positive feelings that were characteristic of attitudes toward the civil rights movement.

Table III-9

Attitudes Toward the Anti-Vietnam War Movement (Q. 39)

	%	Total Number
Very positive	26	(83)
Somewhat positive	33	(107)
Indifferent	4	(13)
Somewhat negative	20	(64)
Very negative	17	(53)

Table III-10

Strategy Which Respondents Prefer the United States Government Would Adopt for the Vietnam Situation (Q. 46)

	%	Total Number
Withdraw completely from Vietnam	17	(52)
Militarily control only key cities	5	(15)
Gradually pull out troops	46	(144)
Maintain present level	9	(30)
Go all out to win	23	(71)

The use of the death penalty[9] has decreased in this country to the extent that it has been applied only once in the last five years. Ten states in the United States and several countries have abolished the death penalty. An analysis of public opinion of the last thirty years suggest an increase in the percentage of those favoring abolition of the dealth penalty. The most recent study of the California population indicate the majority still favor retention. This study displays overwhelming opposition to the death penalty; the majority are opposed on moral grounds.

Table III-11

Attitudes Toward Capital Punishment (Q. 36)

	%	Total Number
The death penalty is proper for certain acts	19	(62)
Favor the death penalty because it deters others	18	(57)
Opposed because the penalty doesn't deter others	14	(45)
The death penalty is wrong and shouldn't be used	49	(155)

The proposition advanced in this research that individuals' positions on public issues are consistently related, is given added support from a correlation matrix of the issues investigated. The gammas range from .34 to .86 with a mean of .60.

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[9] Hugo Bedau, editor, The Death Penalty in America (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books of Doubleday and Company, 1964).

In order to obtain a single measure of liberalism-conservatism which would take into account positions on all issues investigated, an index is employed. With items having four alternatives, two are termed liberal and two conservative. Positive feelings toward the civil rights and anti-Vietnam war movements are considered liberal and the three other alternatives conservative. Maintaining or increasing present level of commitment in Vietnam is called conservative and the other alternatives liberal. Preferences for the Democratic and the Peace and Freedom parties are classified as liberal and the Republican and the American Independent parties conservative. Independent and no political party preference do not affect the classification of respondents on the index. The affording of both communists and John Birch Society members the privilege of teaching in a university or high school is termed liberal and the denial of one or both groups conservative. Respondents who describe themselves as liberal on the political orientation self identification item and score liberal on all issues are classified as "very liberal." Expressing no party preference would not keep a respondent from being classed as "very liberal" or "very conservative." Cases of liberal political orientation and liberal on all issues except one are called "liberal." "Very conservative" is a

Table III-12

Correlation Matrix (gamma) of Positions on Social and Political Issues

	[52]	[57]	[56]	[38]	[51]	[50]	[47, 48]	[46]	[39]	[36]
Liberalism-conservatism self placement [52]		.74	.78	.72	.43	.60	.67	.59	.66	.75
Negro strategy [57]			.75	.81	.49	.63	.67	.59	.67	.77
Housing discrimination [56]				.86	.47	.54	.44	.46	.51	.62
Civil rights movement [38]					.38	.68	.47	.37	.54	.43
Political party [51]						.44	.53	.38	.62	.34
Economic welfare [50]							.49	.63	.56	.51
Civil liberties[1] [47,48]								.55	.51	.68
Vietnam war strategy [46]									.74	.71
Anti-Vietnam war movement [39]										.52
Capital punishment [36]										

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[1] Allowing John Birch Society and American Communist Party members the privilege of at least teaching in a public university was coded as "liberal" while all lower levels of civil liberties support were coded as "conservative."

conservative political orientation and conservative on all issues. "Conservative" is a conservative political orientation and conservative on all issues except one. A residual category termed "mixed" consists of middle-of-the-road political orientation and/or those who do not qualify for the other categories. Unless otherwise indicated, the index of liberalism-conservatism will be the referent for the term liberalism-conservatism in further analysis.

Participation in Social Protest

Closely related to liberalism-conservatism, dimensionality is the question of the relevance of liberalism-conservatism for participation in social protest. Surace and Seeman[10] found liberalism-conservatism as measured by McClosky's scale a weak interpreter of participation in the civil rights movement. McClosky's scale consists of nine agree-disagree items such as: "It's better to stick by what we have than to be trying new things we don't really know about." If endorsement of general statements is to have an effect, some connection is necessary between the general statements and the civil rights movements. Does the civil rights movement represent the "trying of new things you don't really know about?"

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[10] Samuel Surace and Melvin Seeman, "Some Correlates of Civil Rights Activism," Social Forces (December, 1967), 197-208.

Tygart and Holt,[11] in their study of UCLA students, found political orientation self identification predictive of participation in civil rights and anti-Vietnam war activities; almost all participants described themselves as liberal or left politically. Respondents with consistently liberal positions on all issues measured were more active in social protest activities than those of lesser consistency.

For this study liberalism is very strongly associated with participation in civil rights and anti-Vietnam war activities. Participation in civil rights is more common than anti-Vietnam war activities with participations of 54 and 26 per cent respectively. The gamma of .91 between participation in civil rights and anti-Vietnam war activities results from almost all of those participating in anti-Vietnam activities having participated in civil rights; however more than half of the civil rights participants have not taken part in anti-Vietnam war protest.

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[11] C. E. Tygart and Norman Holt, "Dimensionality of Liberalism-Conservatism and Social Protest Participation Among a University Student Sample," unpublished paper, University of California, Los Angeles.

Table III-13

Liberalism-Conservatism and Participation in Civil Rights Activities

	Participation	Nonparticipation	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%	
All liberal	91.5	8.5	100	(71)
Liberal	75.8	24.2	100	(62)
Mixed	43.2	56.8	100	(135)
Conservative	9.3	90.7	100	(43)
All conservative	5.6	94.4	100	(18)
Total	53.6	46.4	100	

Gamma* = .81 Z = 7.79

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*Probabilities for gamma Z scores are reported on the basis of a two tailed test unless otherwise indicated.

Table III-14

Liberalism-Conservatism and Participation in Anti-Vietnam War Activities

	Participation	Nonparticipation	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%	
All liberal	60.0	40.0	100	(70)
Liberal	51.6	48.4	100	(62)
Mixed	7.9	92.1	100	(126)
Conservative	---	100.	100	(44)
All conservative	---	100.	100	(18)
Total	26.2	73.8	100	

Gamma = .82 Z = 7.32

Table III-15

Participation in Civil Rights and Anti-Vietnam War Activities

	Participation %	Nonparticipation %	Total %	Total Number
Participation	45.9	54.1	100	(170)
Nonparticipation	4.1*	95.9	100	(148)
			100	

Gamma = .91 Z = 9.10

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*One tabular cell approaches zero

Effects of Respondents' Religious Denomination, Age, Education and Race for Attitudes Toward and Participation in Social and Political Issues

The small sample size prohibits adequately employing the just mentioned variables as controls for attitudes toward and participation in public issues. For example, it is impossible to control for religious denomination and observe the effects of age for liberalism-conservatism. The variables of this section frequently are so used in research pertaining to social and political issues that their relationships to the dependent variables of this research is noteworthy as an indication of sample typicality.

Roman Catholics are more conservative than Protestants. American Baptists are the most conservative Protestant denomination while United Methodist and United Church of

Table III-16

Religious Denomination and Liberalism-Conservatism

	All Liberal	Liberal	Mixed	Conserv-ative	All Conserv-ative	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
American Baptist	5.8	5.8	39.1	27.5	21.7	100	(69)
United Methodist	40.6	33.3	23.2	2.9	---	100	(69)
Anglican	21.2	17.5	43.8	16.2	1.2	100	(80)
United Church of Christ	31.7	28.3	36.7	---	3.3	100	(60)
Roman Catholic	7.0	9.3	60.5	23.3	---	100	(43)
Total	22.1	19.3	39.3	13.7	5.6	100	(321)

Lambda-A = .17 (predicting liberalism-conservatism)

Chi Square = 123 16 d.f. $P < .001$

Christ being the most liberal. Liberal denominations are more likely to participate in social protest than conservative denominations which is consistent with previously reported association between liberalism and social protest participation.

Table III-17

Religious Denomination and Participation in Civil Rights Activities

	Participation %	Nonparticipation %	Total %	Total Number
American Baptist	29.4	70.6	100	(68)
United Methodist	78.3	21.7	100	(69)
Anglican	56.3	48.8	100	(80)
United Church of Christ	66.7	33.3	100	(60)
Roman Catholic	28.6	71.4	100	(42)
			100	

Lambda-B = .31 (predicting civil rights participation)

Chi Square = 48 4 d.f. $P < .001$

As the gamma of .25 between age and liberalism-conservatism shows, older respondents generally are more conservative than younger respondents. The relative mean ages of the religious denominations reflects the relative liberalism-conservatism of the denominations; for example, Roman Catholic clergy are the oldest.

Previous research as to relationships between levels of education and individuals' positions on social and

Table III-18

Religious Denomination and Participation in Anti-Vietnam War Activities

	Participation %	Nonparticipation %	Total %	Total Number
American Baptist	7.2	92.8	100	(69)
United Methodist	55.1	44.9	100	(69)
Anglican	23.8	71.3	100	(80)
United Church of Christ	35.6	64.4	100	(59)
Roman Catholic	2.3	97.7	100	(43)
			100	

Lambda-B = .08 (predicting anti-Vietnam war activities)

Chi Square = 58 4 d.f. P $<$ .001

political issues is ambiguous. Republican voting which usually is considered as an indicator of conservatism is associated with higher levels of education. However, graduate students usually are more Democratic than undergraduates. Evidence suggests that increased level of education is associated with decreased racial prejudices. One of the more persistent research findings is the positive association between level of education and support for civil liberties. From this seeming ambiguity, Lipset introduced his dimensionality theory of liberalism-conservatism.

These are highly educated individuals. Only one respondent had not gone beyond high school, 12 per cent had done graduate work and an additional seven per cent had doctoral degrees. No relationship exists between educational attainment and the index of liberalism-conservatism. As the gamma of .24 indicate, there is some association between education and support for civil liberties for communists.

An item on race was included as a possible influence on research findings. Respondents were asked if they were a member of a racial minority and if so, which minority. Seven per cent (twenty-three respondents) called themselves members of a racial minority with eleven Negroes constituting the largest minority. Mexican-American, Japanese, Chinese and American Indian were the other minorities reported. The Mexican-American reporting leaves some uncertainty for it is unknown if others did not consider the Mexican-American as a racial minority. The percentages of racial minorities is so small as to probably have little effect on the results of the study. Moreover, the chi square test for independence revealed no statistically significant difference between racial minorities and the rest of the sample regarding liberalism-conservatism.

Conclusion

This research does not support the dimensionality conception of liberalism-conservatism. When asked to describe their general political orientations for most issues of the day, respondents were most likely to report "somewhat liberal" and response patterns to the nine issues used to measure liberalism-conservatism suggest that "somewhat liberal" was an apt description. A correlation matrix of the ten items measuring liberalism-conservatism reveal a high degree of interdependency. When all measures of liberalism-conservatism are combined into an index, 41 per cent of the respondents are classed as liberal (conservative on no more than one issue), 19 per cent are conservative (liberal on no more than one issue) and the residuals consisting of 38 per cent are called mixed.

It is, perhaps, disappointing that more respondents do not fall into the liberal or conservative category on the index of liberalism-conservatism. This disappointment does not prohibit the position adopted in this research that liberalism-conservatism can be employed profitably as a unitary concept. Measures of association in this research among the items of liberalism-conservatism compare more than favorably with what generally is reported in sociological journals as strong associations. Having a large percentage of respondents as a residual mixed class is not unusual in sociology, especially when the criteria for classification is as stringent as the one employed here.

The gammas of .81 and .82 between the index of liberalism-conservatism and participation in civil rights and anti-Vietnam war activities indicate that respondents' attitudes have a powerful effect for their behavior. The gamma of .91 between participatin in civil rights and anti-Vietnam war activities show that anti-Vietnam war participation almost never occurs unless respondents also have participated in civil rights.

The effect of religious denomination, age, education and race of respondents on their attitudes toward and participation in social and political issues usually were consistent with trends from previous research. This consistency is support for the notion that high interrelations among attitudes and social protest participations found in this research were not just the results of a sample anomaly.

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CHAPTER IV

THEOLOGY AND CULTURAL POSTULATES

The negative association between religion and political radicalism and involvement among the poor was observed over a century ago by Karl Marx.[1] Lipset[2] noted that for the poor of many countries, leftist political and fundamentalist religion appear to be competitors; where fundamentalism is strong, leftist political activities are weak and vice versa.

Glock and Stark[3] presented data obtained from working class respondents of European countries. Religion defined by such measures as church membership, church attendance and importance of religion to the respondent was negatively correlated with support for leftist political parties. Although differences between the major political parties in the United States are vaguer than in Europe, religion among U. S.

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[1] Marx's statement to the effect that religion was the "opiate" of the working class has been widely quoted, probably little understood and very controversial.

[2] S. M. Lipset, Political Man (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1960).

[3] Charles Glock and Rodney Stark, Religion and Society in Tension (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965).

workers decreased support for the Democratic Party. The effects of religion on politics was less for U. S. workers than for Europeans.

If the relationship between religion and politics found among workers were extrapolated to a consideration of clergy, almost unanimously conservative political behavior would be expected. However, this sample is more liberal than conservative. In an attempt partially to ascertain why a large portion of this sample are politically liberal, the analysis will be guided by certain hypotheses. Aspects of theology which legitimate concern for this life as opposed to an almost exclusive concern for an extra worldly existence are anticipated as being associated with political liberalism. Free will-determinism and Protestant vis-a-vis capitalist ethic are cultural postulates which are suspected as related to theology and thus associated with liberalism-conservatism. Interest in social and political issues and perception of powerlessness are suspected as variables linking theology and cultural postulates with liberalism-conservatism.

Theology

As in a publication by Benton Johnson,[4] respondents of the present study were asked to describe their theology in terms of one of four categories: liberal, neo-orthodox, conservative and fundamentalist. When measures of association were computed, the categories were treated as ordinal. As analysis of relationships between the categories and religious ideas will indicate, the ordinal assumptions had considerable justifications.

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[4] Benton Johnson, "Theology and the Positions of Pastors on Public Issues," American Sociological Review, 32 (June, 1967), 433-442.

Johnson[5] found attendance of laity at churches whose pastors were theologically conservative positively related to Republican Party preferences and voting. Attendance at theologically [illegible] was negatively related to Republican [illegible] Controls for occupational cla[illegible]se relationships. Churches w[illegible] usually are served by pastors who [illegible]damentalist in theology.

Johnson[illegible]ssociation between respondents' classifica[illegible] theologies and political party preferences among a sample of United Methodist and American Baptist pastors in Oregon. Stronger relationships between theology and political party preferences existed for pastors than had been found among laity. About two times the percentage of conservative pastors preferred the in terms of one of four categories: liberal, neo-orthodox, conservative and fundamentalist. When measures of association were computed, the categories were treated as ordinal. As analysis of relationships between the categories and religious ideas will indicate, the ordinal assumptions had considerable justifications.

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[5] Benton Johnson, "Ascetic Protestantism and Political Preference," Public Opinion Quarterly, 26 (Spring, 1962), 35-46; also "Ascetic Protestantism and Political Preference in the Deep South," AJS, 69 (January, 1964), 359-366.

[6] Benton Johnson, "Theology and Party Preference Among Protestant Clergymen," American Sociological Review, 31 (April, 1966), 200-208.

Johnson[5] found attendance of laity at churches whose pastors were theologically conservative positively related to Republican Party preferences and voting. Attendance at theologically liberal churches was negatively related to Republican preferences and voting. Controls for occupational class failed to eliminate these relationships. Churches with poorer congregations usually are served by pastors who are conservative or fundamentalist in theology.

Johnson[6] investigated the association between respondents' classifications of their theologies and political party preferences among a sample of United Methodist and American Baptist pastors in Oregon. Stronger relationships between theology and political party preferences existed for pastors than had been found among laity. About two times the percentage of conservative pastors preferred the

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[5] Benton Johnson, "Ascetic Protestantism and Political Preference," Public Opinion Quarterly, 26 (Spring, 1962), 35-46; also "Ascetic Protestantism and Political Preference in the Deep South," AJS, 69 (January, 1964), 359-366.

[6] Benton Johnson, "Theology and Party Preference Among Protestant Clergymen," American Sociological Review, 31 (April, 1966), 200-208.

Republican Party compared with liberal and neo-orthodox pastors.

Since 98 per cent of Baptist clergy were conservative or fundamentalist in theology, Johnson was unable to control for religious denomination and observe the effects of theology for political party preference. A smaller percentage of theologically conservative Methodist than conservative Baptist made a Republican choice. Liberal and neo-orthodox pastors under forty-five years of age were more likely to be Democratic than their older colleagues with like theologies.

Johnson proposed that variations in the strength of associations between theology and its appropriate political expression result from variations in influences that might forstall pastors making an appropriate choice. Older Methodist pastors represent a Republican heritage. Politically conservative Methodist pastors probably have decreased until they are now a minority. Younger Methodist pastors were subjected to the Democratic Party influences of their colleagues at an earlier age than was the case for older pastors. Since political liberalism among Methodist pastors is greater than for Baptist, the expression of political conservatism by theological conservative Methodist pastors is more likely to be blunted by colleague cross pressures. Thus, theological conservative Methodist pastors are not as politically conservative as their Baptist counterparts.

Johnson[7] further investigated theology of pastors and positions on six public issues: (1) federal aid to education, (2) racial segregation, (3) the income tax, (4) United States participation in the United Nations, (5) capital punishment, and (6) foreign aid. Liberal and neo-orthodox pastors were more liberal than theologically conservative pastors on all issues. Liberal and neo-orthodox theologians were more likely to take a liberal position on the issues than were conservative theologians to take a conservative position; as previously mentioned, the situation was reversed in the case of political party preference.

Ten per cent of Methodist pastors and 18 per cent of Baptist pastors of Johnson's respondents did not indicate their theologies. Only four pastors, less than two per cent, of this study failed to classify their theologies, three Roman Catholic and one American Baptist. United Church of Christ and United Methodist had the largest percentages of theologically liberal pastors. American Baptist and Roman Catholic had the largest percentages of theologically conservative pastors. American Baptist and Roman Catholic were the only denominations having fundamentalists with 15 per cent and 5 per cent respectively of each denomination so classifying themselves. Anglican pastors displayed greater divergency regarding theology than the other denominations.

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[7] Benton Johnson, "Theology and the Positions of Pastors on Public Issues."

As the column margins of Table IV-1 indicates, liberal and conservative theologies each comprise 37 per cent of this sample; neo-orthodox and fundamentalist categories 22 per cent and four per cent respectively.

Theology and political party preference in this study were associated with a gamma of .65. Consistent with Johnson's results, clergy under forty-five years of age showed a stronger relationship regarding theology and political party preference in the present study than was the case for those over forty-five. The gammas were .81 and .27 respectively.

These data support Johnson's study which showed theology related to positions on public issues. The present study extends Johnson's efforts to an investigation of other issues. The gammas between theology and positions on issues of the present study were generally high ranging from .45 to .82 with a mean of .60.

When positions of clergy on all issues investigated were considered together with the index of liberalism-conservatism, theology and liberalism-conservatism were strongly related with a gamma of .76.

The distributions of theologies within denominations limit controlling for religious denomination and observing relationships between theology and positions on issues. To illustrate, United Methodist and United Church of Christ have no fundamentalists and almost no conservatives;

Table IV-1

Religious Denomination and Theology (self identification)

	Liberal %	Neo-orthodox %	Conservative %	Funda-mentalist %	Total %	Total Number
American Baptist	4.3	13.0	68.1	14.5	100	(69)
United Methodist	69.6	20.3	10.1	---	100	(69)
Anglican	25.3	27.8	46.8	---	100	(79)
United Church of Christ	70.0	20.0	10.0	---	100	(60)
Roman Catholic	15.0	27.5	52.5	5.0	100	(40)
Total	37.5	21.5	37.2	3.8	100	317

Lambda-B = .38 (predicting theology)

Chi Square = 145 12 d.f. $P < .001$

Table IV-2

Relationships of Theology With Positions on Social and Political Issues

		Gamma
Respondents self placement of general political orientation	(Q. 52)	.72
Capital punishment	(Q. 36)	.57
Civil rights movement sympathy	(Q. 38)	.50
Anti-Vietnam war movement sympathy	(Q. 39)	.55
Civil liberties	(Q. 47, 48)	.66
Economic welfare	(Q. 50)	.45
Political party preference	(Q. 51)	.65
Housing discrimination	(Q. 56)	.68
Strategy preference for Negro movement	(Q. 57)	.82

American Baptist and Roman Catholic denominations have almost no theological liberals.

Consistent with the very strong associations between theology and liberalism-conservatism is the relationship between theology and social protest participation. Liberal and neo-orthodox theologies account for almost all of the social protest participation of the present sample.

Table IV-3

Theology and Index of Liberalism-Conservatism

	All Liberal %	Liberal %	Mixed %	Conserv-ative %	All Conserv-ative %	Total %	Total Number
Liberal	43.0	30.3	26.1	0.8	0.8	100	(119)
Neo-orthodox	22.1	27.9	48.5	---	1.5	100	(68)
Conservative	4.2	5.9	48.3	33.9	7.6	100	(118)
Fundamentalist	---	---	16.7	25.0	58.3	100	(12)
Total						100	(317)

Gamma = .76

Chi Square = 200 12 d.f. $P < .001$

Table IV-4

Theology and Civil Rights Participation

	Participation %	Nonparticipation %	Total %	Total Number
Liberal	73.1	26.9	100	(119)
Neo-orthodox	73.1	26.9	100	(68)
Conservative	27.4	72.6	100	(117)
Fundamentalist	16.7	83.3	100	(12)
			100	(315)

Gamma = .62

Chi Square = 67   3 d.f. $P < .001$

Table IV-5

Theology and Anti-Vietnam War Participation

	Participation %	Nonparticipation %	Total %	Total Number
Liberal	46.6	53.4	100	(118)
Neo-orthodox	29.4	70.6	100	(68)
Conservative	7.6	92.4	100	(118)
Fundamentalist	---	100.0	100	(12)
			100	(316)

Gamma = .68

Chi Square = 50 3 d.f. $P < .001$

Orthodoxy

Since respondents' self classification of theology powerfully predicted liberalism-conservatism and social protest participation, religious ideas which are referrents for theological self classification are important. An historical analysis of developments of theologies afford clues to their referrents. Protestantism has had for several decades at least two theological factions. The factionalization in Roman Catholic theology has until at least very recently been less pronounced than in Protestant theology. Fundamentalists and conservatives attempt to maintain a theological continuity with the past and defend supernatural elements in Christian theology. Liberal theologians emphasize the social gospel of Christianity and seek to harmonize religion with modern science.

Neo-orthodoxy arose as an attempt to mitigate some of the liberal criticism of conservative theology's lack of concern for social problems. While not rejecting science and supporting social reforms, neo-orthodoxy is, nevertheless, skeptical of the liberal theological assertion of the goodness and perfectability of man. For neo-orthodoxy, theology is to remain an autonomous discipline.

Orthodoxy will be investigated as a referent for respondents' self classification of theology. Since orthodoxy has come to be viewed by many scholars as having two dimensions, doctrinal and devotionalism, the proposed dimensions will be analyzed as logically independent concepts.

Doctrinal Orthodoxy

Before examining data of this research to ascertain if proponents of each theology endorse ideas historically associated with that theology, an examination of utilizations of doctrinal orthodoxy in previous research is warranted. Doctrinal orthodoxy are largely beliefs dealing with what Tillich calls "ultimate concern." The most important aspect of the "ultimate concern" for this research is whether the primary focus is worldly or extra-worldly.

Lenski[8] employed the concept of doctrinal orthodoxy with a sample of Detroit, Michigan laity and a subsample of clergy. Six items were employed to measure doctrinal orthodoxy among laity concerning these issues: (1) belief in God, (2) God as a Heavenly father, (3) God responds to man's prayers, (4) punishment after death, (5) the Trinity and (6) God expects worship every week. Those who answered all questions in the affirmative were labeled orthodox; all others were called heterodox. Considering all social and political issues investigated, doctrinal orthodoxy was a weak interpreter of individuals' positions. Had Lenski used gradations of orthodoxy instead of a dichotomy, results might have been different.

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[8] Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961).

Respondents among Lenski's clergy sample were not classified as to their orthodoxy although some questions pertaining to orthodoxy were asked. These questions included beliefs about the existence of God, Trinity, punishment after death and the influence of God on the writing of the Bible. Perhaps due to the small sample size (57), relationships between clergy theology and positions on social and political issues were not reported.

Glock and Stark[9] in a study of Christian beliefs and anti-Semitism among a sample of northern California laity used these items as an index of doctrinal orthodoxy; existence of a personal God, divinity of Jesus, authenticity of biblical miracles and the existence of the devil. Respondents received a score of zero for each item on which they expressed doubt. Possible index scores could vary from a low of zero to a high of four.

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[9] Charles Glock and Rodney Stark, Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1966).

Four items were used to measure doctrinal orthodoxy in this study which concerned the issues of: (1) existence of God, (2) divinity of Jesus, (3) life after death and (4) punishment after death. As previously mentioned the rationale for the four items was an attempt to ascertain which theologies placed ultimate concern for this world and which focused on an existence beyond this life. As Table IV-7 shows the response pattern of each theology regarding the four doctrinal items reveal that the previously stated ordinal assumptions about the theological categories were justified. Theologically liberal clergy are the least traditional for the four doctrinal items. Fundamentalist and conservative pastors are the most traditional with neo-orthodox theologians occupying an intermediate position.

More doubt was expressed about the existence of God than any other doctrinal issue. Lenski's small sample of Protestant clergy had 20 per cent having doubts about the existence of God although basically believing in God's existence. Twenty-eight per cent of this sample and one-third of the Protestant respondents expressed the degree of doubt as Lenski reported. Five per cent expressed stronger doubts. For the four doctrinal items the least doubt was expressed concerning life after death.

Table IV-6

Theology and Doctrinal Orthodoxy Items

Beliefs about the existence of God

	never doubted %	have doubted %	presently doubt %	believe in impersonal God %	don't believe %	Total %	Total Number
Liberal	49.6	39.5	3.4	6.7	0.8	100	(119)
Neo-orthodox	57.4	38.2	1.5	1.5	1.5	100	(68)
Conservative	87.2	12.0	0.9	---	---	100	(117)
Fundamentalist	100.0	---	---	---	---	100	(12)
						100	(316)

*Gamma = -.59 Z = -3.76 P < .001

Beliefs about Jesus

	definitely divine %	have doubts but believe in Jesus' Divinity %	great and holy man but no more of a son of God than the rest of us %	Total %	Total Number
Liberal	33.9	39.0	27.0	100	(115)
Neo-orthodox	54.5	40.9	4.5	100	(66)
Conservative	91.5	8.5	---	100	(118)
Fundamentalist	100.0	---	---	100	(12)
				100	(311)

Gamma = -.78 Z = -6.89 P < .001

Table IV-6

(continued)

Belief in life after death

	definitely	probably	probably not	definitely not	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%	%	%	
Liberal	58.8	31.9	5.9	3.4	100	(119)
Neo-orthodox	80.9	14.7	2.9	1.5	100	(68)
Conservative	94.9	5.1	---	---	100	(118)
Fundamentalist	100.0	---	---	---	100	(12)
					100	(317)

Gamma = -.71 Z = -4.51 $P < .001$

Belief in punishment after death

	definitely	probably	probably not	definitely not	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%	%	%	
Liberal	7.1	20.4	42.5	30.1	100	(113)
Neo-orthodox	21.2	39.4	21.2	18.2	100	(66)
Conservative	66.4	17.7	10.6	5.3	100	(113)
Fundamentalist	100.0	---	---	---	100	(12)
					100	(304)

Gamma = -.70 Z = -6.24 $P < .001$

Table IV-7

Religious Denominations and Doctrinal Orthodoxy Items

Beliefs about the existence of God

	never doubted	have doubted	presently doubt	believe in impersonal God	don't believe	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
American Baptist	82.6	15.9	1.4	---	---	100	(69)
United Methodist	50.7	36.2	4.3	7.2	1.4	100	(69)
Anglican	68.8	27.5	1.2	2.5	---	100	(80)
United Church of Christ	44.1	49.2	1.7	3.4	1.7	100	(59)
Roman Catholic	97.7	2.3	---	---	---	100	(43)
Total	67.2	27.5	1.9	2.8	0.6	100	(320)

Chi Square = 55 16 d.f. $P < .01$

Beliefs about Jesus

	definitely divine	have doubts but believe in Jesus' Divinity	great and holy man	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%	%	
American Baptist	84.1	14.5	1.4	100	(69)
United Methodist	36.8	36.8	26.5	100	(68)
Anglican	72.2	24.1	3.8	100	(79)
United Church of Christ	35.7	42.9	21.4	100	(56)
Roman Catholic	88.4	11.6	---	100	(43)
Total	62.9	26.3	10.8	100	(315)

Chi Square = 75 8 d.f. $P < .001$

Table IV-7

(continued)

Belief in life after death

	definitely %	probably %	probably not %	definitely not %	Total %	Total Number
American Baptist	92.8	7.2	---	---	100	(69)
United Methodist	60.9	30.4	5.8	2.9	100	(69)
Anglican	86.2	12.5	---	1.2	100	(80)
United Church of Christ	58.3	30.0	8.3	3.3	100	(60)
Roman Catholic	100.0	---	---	---	100	(43)
Total	78.8	16.8	2.8	1.6	100	(321)

Chi Square = 54 12 d.f. P $<$ .01

Belief in punishment after death

	definitely %	probably %	probably not %	definitely not %	Total %	Total Number
American Baptist	71.6	17.9	6.0	4.5	100	(67)
United Methodist	5.9	30.9	38.2	25.0	100	(68)
Anglican	22.9	28.6	25.7	22.9	100	(70)
United Church of Christ	11.9	18.6	42.4	27.1	100	(59)
Roman Catholic	86.0	11.6	2.3	---	100	(43)
Total	36.5	22.5	24.1	16.9	100	(307)

Chi Square = 141 12 d.f. P $<$ .001

Because of limitations due to a small sample and the burden that such extensive subdividing places on the reader, the relationships of the four doctrinal items to theology and to religious denomination are reported in separate tables. The relationship between the doctrinal items and religious denomination is as expected from the theological complexion of each denomination. Religious denomination *per se* appears to make little difference for positions of clergy regarding the four doctrinal items.

Since the coefficient of reproducibility for the doctrinal items is .93, a five point ordinal scale is justified. Belief in no life after death indicates the least orthodox, traditional position and receives a score of zero. Those who have not doubted the existence of God receive the highest orthodoxy score, four. Orthodoxy progressively decreases with doubts about the existence of God, doubts about the Divinity of Jesus and nonbelief in punishment after death.

The doctrinal orthodoxy scale and clergy classification of their theology are highly related with a gamma of .89. All of those lowest on the scale of doctrinal orthodoxy describe their theology as liberal; all fundamentalist were in the most orthodox category.

The scale of doctrinal orthodoxy predicts liberalism-conservatism with a gamma of .81 which is close to the gamma between theology and liberalism-conservatism of .76. Respondents' labeling of their theology will remain the usual referent for the term theology; adding doctrinal orthodoxy would serve as a complication without compensating analytical gains. The close connection between respondents' labeling of their theology and positions regarding the doctrinal items support previous anticipations about the referents for the various theologies. The ultimate concerns of the theologically liberal generally are worldly instead of extra-worldly and the strong association between liberal theology and political liberalism is a possible indicator of worldly concern.

Devotionalism

A theoretical case has been made that devotionalism and doctrinal orthodoxy be treated as separate dimensions of orthodoxy. Lenski and Glock and Stark have adopted the assumption of dimensionality in their research.

Lenski[10] measured devotionalism with questions of whether respondents prayed daily and if respondents asked what God would have them do. Doctrinal orthodoxy and devotionalism were weakly associated with a correlation of .23. Devotionalism was a stronger interpreter of individuals' political positions than doctrinal orthodoxy. Devotionalism generally increased humanitarian concerns while doctrinal orthodoxy did not.

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[10] Lenski, loc. cit.

Table IV-8

Theology and Devotionalism

Frequency of Personal Prayer

	almost never %	monthly %	weekly %	2 or 3 times a week %	daily %	several times a day %	Total %	Total Number
Liberal	6.7	1.7	2.5	16.8	50.4	21.8	100	(119)
Neo-orthodox	2.9	0.0	5.9	7.4	42.6	41.2	100	(68)
Conservative	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	43.6	53.0	100	(117)
Fundamentalist	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	75.0	100	(12)
Total	3.2	0.6	2.2	9.2	45.3	39.6	100	(316)

Gamma = .50 Z = 3.31 $P < .001$

Glock and Stark[11] label "ritual participation" what is very similar to Lenski's concept of devotionalism. Weekly church attendance and praying at least several times weekly were measures of ritual participation.

The dimensional concept of orthodoxy did not increase the empirical import of this research. Frequency of personal prayer was used to measure devotionalism. Fundamentalist and conservative pastors pray more frequently than theologically liberal pastors. As the gamma of .46 between devotionalism and liberalism-conservatism suggests, devotionalism and doctrinal orthodoxy are similarly associated with liberalism conservatism.

Cultural Postulates

Aspects of theology which define the degree of concern for social problems and human suffering individuals' should possess, are analagous to certain cultural postulates. The cultural postulates perhaps are rooted in theology and the cultural postulates and theology probably supplement each other. The cultural postulates probably do not, however, qualify as formal theological propositions. Free will-determinism involves the definition of the cause of certain undesired behavior and the proper remedy. The Protestant vis-a-vis capitalist ethic defines the proper relationships among individuals in certain circumstances.

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[11] Glock and Stark, Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism.

Free Will-Determinism

A prominent issue in the western philosophical tradition concerns free will. Human behavior results from individuals' choices which in a theological context makes the individual subject to God's judgments. Since human behavior results from individuals' "choices," the possibility of a science of social psychological behavior is negated. The free will doctrine questions the possibilities of success of societal efforts to reduce human suffering. In the area of social control the free will position is pessimistic about reducing criminal and/or deviant behavior. The antithesis of free will is determinism.

Since individuals may take positions between the polar categories of free will and determinism, the measurement of the concept in this study allowed for gradiations instead of only a dichotomy. The questionnaire item focused on the question of what percentage of criminal behavior results from free will and what portion can be explained by conditions of society. As the historical positions of the theologies and their varying commitments to doctrinal orthodoxy shown in this study might lead one to suspect, liberal theological pastors take the most deterministic position while fundamentalists and conservatives generally select free will.

Table IV-9

Theology and Free Will-Determinism

	Percentage of Criminal Behavior Resulting From Free Will						
	almost all	75%	50%	25%	almost none	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Liberal	3.4	22.9	43.2	24.6	5.9	100	(118)
Neo-orthodox	7.6	21.9	53.1	12.5	4.7	100	(64)
Conservative	20.0	40.0	33.9	5.2	0.9	100	(115)
Fundamentalist	25.0	33.3	33.3	0.0	8.3	100	(12)
Total	11.3	29.4	41.4	13.9	3.9	100	(309)

Gamma = -.45 Z = -3.09 $P < .001$

As the association between theology and free will-determinism suggests, determinism is associated with political liberalism. The gamma between the measure of free will-determinism and the index of liberalism-conservatism is .49.

Regarding the doctrinal item of punishment after death, these data support the assumption that the free will position is associated with the belief that individuals are subject to God's punishment. As Table IV-11 shows the free will position increases the belief in punishment after death. The item regarding punishment after death would perhaps have been a more powerful predictor of the free will position if the alternatives had included forms of punishment, eternal or temporary.

Nettler,[12] in analyzing philosophical writings on the subject of free will, hypothesized that proponents of the free will position would favor disinterested punishment for offenders with minimal concern for whether the punishment reduces crime. Disinterested punishment is deemed necessary for the dignity of the individual who is a free moral agent. Determinism is more concerned with the circumstances under which punishment will affect the goal of reducing crime and/or deviant behavior.

The proposition that the free will proponents would recommend punishment for the sake of individual dignity was tested by Nettler with a sample of nine hundred thirty-nine

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[12] Gwynn Nettler, "Cruelty, Dignity and Determinism," American Sociological Review, 24 (August, 1959), 375-384.

Table IV-10

Free Will-Determinism and Belief in Punishment After Death

	Belief in Punishment After Death					
Criminal behavior due to free will	definitely %	probably %	probably not %	definitely not %	Total %	Total Number
Almost all	67.6	14.7	8.8	8.8	100	(34)
About 75%	56.2	18.0	18.0	7.9	100	(89)
About 50%	25.0	29.0	29.0	16.9	100	(124)
About 25%	7.3	19.5	36.6	36.6	100	(41)
Almost none	16.7	16.7	33.3	33.3	100	(12)
Total					100	(300)

Gamma = .50 Z = 3.58 $P < .001$

community leaders in a metropolitan area. Such questions as "Do you believe that a mentally ill or feeble-minded person is responsible for their actions?" and "Do the early years of life form the basic personality of the adult?" were used to measure free will-determinism. Respondents were dichotomized into free will and determinist categories. The free will respondents were more likely to recommend punishment even though they were pessimistic as to such institutions as reform schools being a factor in changing behavior than was the case for determinists.

Besides the dichotomous classification of free will and determinist positions, Nettler's research does not take into account another important consideration. A traditional central objective of penology is to prevent others from committing crimes. Nettler's respondents could have been pessimistic as to whether reform schools would reform the individuals committed and still uphold the use of reform schools as preventing others from committing crimes. This research focused on the issue of the death penalty also, instead of only imprisonment. Execution does not reform the persons executed but its use might be justified on at least two other grounds; it keeps others from committing similar acts or it is proper punishment for certain acts without regards to their effects for others. The latter justification corresponds to Nettler's notion of punishment for the dignity of the individual who is a free moral agent.

This research presented alternatives which allowed respondents to endorse or oppose the death penalty for the pragmatic reason of deterring others as well as being a proper or improper punishment per se. The gamma of .55 between free will-determinism and the death penalty issue shows that the free will position is associated with greater preference for the death penalty. An inspection of Table IV-11 will reveal that the free will position is especially associated with preference for the death penalty as a proper punishment per se.

Nettler reported that the free will proponents are more pessimistic than determinists regarding the ability of penal institutions to reform the individual. Respondents were asked what they thought the probability was that individuals released from a California penal institution would continue to commit crimes. The gamma between free will-determinism and perceptions of the effectiveness of California penal institutions was .39.

Respondents were asked if they felt that the percentage of convicted felons in the state of California required to serve prison sentences should be increased, kept the same, or decreased. Free will proponents were more punitive than determinists; the gamma was .45.

The small sample size and response patterns prohibit the subdividing required to directly investigate if, as Nettler suggested, free will proponents are more punitive

Table IV-11

Free Will-Determinism and Capital Punishment

Criminal behavior due to free will	Capital Punishment proper punishment per se %	 necessary deterrent %	 opposed, ineffective deterrent %	 opposed, morally wrong %	Total %	Total Number
Almost all	47.2	30.6	11.1	11.1	100	(36)
About 75%	25.8	24.7	16.1	33.3	100	(93)
About 50%	14.2	14.2	15.7	55.9	100	(127)
About 25%	0.0	4.7	9.3	86.0	100	(43)
Almost none	8.3	8.3	16.7	66.7	100	(12)
Total	19.3	17.7	14.5	48.6	100	(311)

Gamma = .55 Z = 4.03 $P < .001$

than determinists even though free will adherents feel imprisonment will not reform the individual. The two just reported associations between free will-determinism and perceptions of the effectiveness of penal institutions and punitiveness are consistent with Nettler's expectations.

A gamma of .74 is obtained in the association between free will-determinism and liberalism-conservatism. The free will position is a powerful predictor of conservatism on social and political issues. The association between free will-determinism and liberalism-conservatism is supportive of the importance of individuals defining the social system as at least a partial cause of a situation if the situation is to be defined as departing from what should exist.

Capitalism and The Protestant Ethic

Some central ethical issues involve reciprocal obligations for individuals and society. The question of whether individuals' interests or societal interests is the ethical frame of reference is basic for considerations of reciprocal obligations for individuals and society. Other central ethical issues are to what extent individuals actions would be influenced by considerations of the less fortunate and what society owes to the less fortunate.

In their evolutions the classical Protestant and capitalist viewpoints converged in answers to the just posed ethical issues. The interests of individuals and society were almost always the same and in the rare instances of conflict, priority was given to individual interests. Neither society nor individuals were steadfastly bound to assist the less fortunate.

Weber employed the concept of the protestant ethic in his analysis of the development of capitalism. The Protestant ethical postulates were concerned with many issues, only a few of which Weber considered. Weber's Protestant ethic stressed the gaining of eternal life through individual efforts especially by dedicated pursuit of a vocation. Individual wealth, as long as not pleasurably consumed, was a possible indication of membership in God's elect. Although Weber contended that the Protestant ethic was peculiar to Protestantism and was a characteristic of Protestantism, it has been widely debated. The similarities between the Protestant ethic and what later developed as the capitalist ethic is apparent. Individuals were to make their own way in life expecting little help from others and society and required to give little aid to others. Society would benefit from individuals pursuing their separate interests.

The Protestant-capitalist ethic was not usually practiced in its extreme, ideal form. Aid often was extended to the less fortunate and individuals would work cooperatively even in frontier America where the Protestant-capitalist ethic was glorified. The American culture continues to have numerous conflicting values; one side stresses individualism while the counterpoint emphasizes altruistic considerations of others. The general cultural value conflicts are analogous to the previously discussed theological conflicts; liberal theology stresses the social gospel while conservative and fundamentalist theologies emphasize salvation after death. An empirical test of the association between the Protestant-capitalist ethic and positions on social and political issues is found in Jeffries'[13] investigation of Los Angeles area respondents' attitudes on racial issues. After observing scholars of American culture frequently make references to conflicting values, Jeffries built from the theories of Sorokin in his hypothesizing of how values would relate to attitudes on racial issues.

According to Sorokin, there are two contrasting cultural value orientations which are prime determinants of the relative degrees of antagonism or solidarity in interactions between individuals and/or groups. The one value orientation emphasizes the egocentric such as competition and rivalry while the contrasting value orientation emphasizes a concern for others. The first value orientation is very similar to the Protestant-capitalist ethic. Sorokin believed that cultural values tend to be integrated, i.e.

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[13] Vincent Jeffries, "Cultural Values and Antagonism Toward Negroes," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of California, Los Angeles, 1968.

generally dominated by one of the two value orientations instead of a random configuration of value orientations. Values also would be integrated on the personality level; individuals would tend to be either egocentric or altruistic in value orientation.

Jeffries investigated relationships between some contrasting values (self orientation vs. other orientation) and antagonism toward Negroes. The independent variables were seven pairs of contrasting values: altruism-egoism, extended loyalty-restricted loyalty, collective responsibility-self reliance, group welfare-individual freedom, ideationalism-materialism, cooperation-competition and intrinsic satisfaction-success striving. The dependent variables were antagonism-solidarity toward Negroes which was measured by a social distance score and trust of Negroes. Jeffries hypothesized that the self orientations (second value in each value pair) would display greater antagonism toward Negroes.

Although Jeffries' hypotheses generally were supported, this study focuses on the value pair which is almost identical to the Protestant-capitalist ethic, collective responsibility-self reliance. Jeffries found the relationships between collective responsibility-self reliance and the two measures of solidarity-antagonism toward Negroes, social distance and trust were statistically significant. With the exception of blue collar, clerical and sales workers, the relationship between collective responsibility-self reliance and racial attitudes remained statistically significant after controlling for sex, age, education, occupation and political party preference. The mean gamma for all cross tabulations of collective responsibility-self reliance and racial attitudes was .34.

With slight modifications the present study replicated the two items which Jeffries used to measure collective responsibility-self reliance. As the column margins of the following tables show, about one out of every six in this study selected a self reliance alternative; about one-half of Jeffries' respondents chose self reliance alternatives.

The relationships between collective responsibility-self reliance and religious denomination support the anticipation that the Protestant-capitalist ethic is highly related to theology and religious denomination. Theologically liberal and neo-orthodox pastors are the most supportive of the collective responsibility positions. Denominations who are characteristically liberal in theology endorse the collective responsibility alternatives more than other denominations. Respondents of this study were more consistent in their responses to the two collective responsibility-self reliance items than was the case for Jeffries' sample. The gamma between the two items for Jeffries study was .42 while .81 for this study.

Table IV-12

Theology and Collective Responsibility-Self Reliance

	(Q. 58)				(Q. 59)			
	Collectivity	Self	Total	Total Number	Collectivity	Self	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%		%	%	%	
Liberal	92.2	7.8	100	(116)	96.5	3.5	100	(115)
Neo-orthodox	86.6	13.4	100	(67)	89.4	10.6	100	(66)
Conservative	71.6	28.4	100	(116)	80.5	19.5	100	(113)
Fundamentalist	33.3	66.7	100	(12)	81.8	18.2	100	(11)
Total	81.0	19.0	100	(311)	88.5	11.5	100	(305)

(Q. 58): Gamma - .58 Z - 2.95 P < .01

(Q. 59): Gamma - .53 Z - 2.07 P < .05

Table IV-13

Religious Denomination and Collective Responsibility-Self Reliance

	(Q. 58)				(Q. 59)			
	Collectivity	Self	Total	Total Number	Collectivity	Self	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%		%	%	%	
American Baptist	71.6	28.4	100	(67)	81.8	18.2	100	(66)
United Methodist	91.3	8.7	100	(69)	93.9	6.1	100	(66)
Anglican	86.1	13.9	100	(79)	88.5	11.5	100	(78)
United Church of Christ	87.7	12.3	100	(57)	94.7	5.3	100	(57)
Roman Catholic	61.9	38.1	100	(42)	82.9	17.1	100	(41)

(Q. 58): Chi Square 22 4 d.f. P < .01

(Q. 59): Chi Square 8 4 d.f. P < .10

The collective responsibility-self reliance items also are related to free will-determinism with gamma values of .37 and .57. Determinists generally chose the collective responsibility alternatives more than free will proponents.

While Jeffries' measure of racial attitudes included a social distance score and trust of Negroes, the present study's measures of racial attitudes are preference for Negro strategy and favorability toward the civil rights movement. The housing discrimination item in this study is closely related to racial attitudes. This study extended Jeffries' association of collective responsibility self reliance with racial attitudes to include other social and political issues as shown in Table IV-14. Gammas of .65 and .73 between the two measures of collective responsibility-self reliance and the index of liberalism-conservatism demonstrate that collective responsibility powerfully predicts liberalism when the several measures of liberalism-conservatism are considered simultaneously for respondents. Collective responsibility-self reliance is consistently highly associated with the social and political issues investigated in this study with gamma ranging from .24 to .71 with a mean of .47.

Table IV-14

Relationships (gamma) of Collective Responsibility-Self Reliance with Positions on Social and Political Issues

	Gamma (Q. 58)	 (Q. 59)
Capital punishment	.62	.58
Civil rights movement	.60	.53
Vietnam war policy	.35	.42
Civil liberties	.42	.24
Economic welfare	.57	.51
Political party	.37	.31
Housing discrimination	.61	.57
Civil rights strategy	.71	.43
General political orientation	.51	.48
Anti-Vietnam war movement	.52	.54

Intervening Variables in the Relationships Between Ideas and Social and Political Issues

In an attempt to specify in greater detail processes by which religious ideas and cultural postulates become linked to social and political issues, interest in social and political issues and perceptions of powerlessness are analyzed as intervening variables. This section will: (1) describe the general relationships of the intervening variables to religious ideas, cultural postulates and social and political issues, (2) indicate to what extent the intervening variables improve the predictive powers of religious ideas and cultural postulates in regard to social and political issues and (3) describe the association of the intervening variables to each other.

Interest in Social and Political Issues

Previous explications of theologies in this report suggest that liberal and possibly neo-orthodox theologies would be especially interested in social and political issues. Expectations as to interest in social and political issues by conservative and fundamentalist theologies are ambiguous. Conservative and fundamentalist theologies generally are extra-worldly in basic frame of reference and pessimistic about improving social conditions through societal efforts. Conservative and fundamentalist theologians might be interested in social and political issues, perhaps in order to prevent societal efforts to improve social conditions.

Analysis of relationships of interest in social and political issues with other variables is handicapped by almost all respondents of this study indicating they were interested in social and political issues; 75 per cent said they were "very interested" and 24 per cent were "somewhat interested."

Table IV-15 shows that neo-orthodox and liberal theologians are more interested in social and political issues than conservative and fundamentalists.

The gamma for the relationship between interest in social and political issues and liberalism-conservatism is

Table IV-15

Theology and Interest in Social and Political Issues

How Interested Are You in Social and Political Issues?

	very interested %	somewhat interested %	somewhat uninterested %	not at all interested %	Total %	Total Number
Liberal	81.5	16.8	0.8	0.8	100	(119)
Neo-orthodox	85.3	14.7	0.0	0.0	100	(68)
Conservative	65.3	33.1	1.7	0.0	100	(118)
Fundamentalist	41.7	58.3	0.0	0.0	100	(12)
Total	74.8	24.0	0.9	0.3	100	(317)

Gamma = .36 Z = 1.77 $P < .05$

.45. Liberalism is associated with greater interest in social and political issues.

Cultural postulates are not directly, strongly related to interest in social and political issues. Within the limits imposed by the response pattern of the interest in social and political issues item, free will-determinism and the two collective responsibility-self reliance items usually were ineffective interpreters of level of interest in social and political issues with gamma values of .17, .28, and .18 respectively.

Powerlessness

Although individuals may be dissatisfied with a situation and feel that the social structure is a cause of the undesired situation, attempts to change the situation may not occur. For example, persons may dislike the United States government involvement in Vietnam but not engage in any activities aimed at effecting change. An influential intellectual framework suggests that individuals do not attempt to change an undesired situation because of perceptions of powerlessness, i.e. low expectacy for control over events or outcomes.

Seeman[14] is probably the most influential present day explicator of the concept of powerlessness. Seeman proposed that powerlessness is one of five dimensions of alienation; the other dimensions include meaninglessness, normalessness, isolation and self estrangement. Powerlessness is viewed as a social-psychological attitude. Seeman does not concentrate on the structural changes hypothesized by scholars such as Marx, Mills and Kornhauser as producing feelings of powerlessness.

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[14] Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," ASR, 24 (December, 1959), 783-791.

Research by Seeman[15] suggested that powerlessness is related to learning of knowledge that has control significance to the individual. Reformatory inmates' learning of information on matters of parole was increased as perception of powerlessness decreased. A similar relationship was found among tuberculosis patients learning about health matters. A study of Swedish respondents showed high powerlessness associated with low knowledge of Swedish politics.

Ransford[16] used the powerlessness framework in a study of Negro participation in three modes of social protest: (1) conservative civil rights activities (such as NAACP participation), (2) militant civil rights activity (such as demonstrations or sit-in participation and (3) violence. Powerlessness decreased with participation in conservative civil rights activities and increased with the willingness of respondents to engage in violence. Powerlessness did not, however, predict participation in militant civil rights activity.

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[15] Melvin Seeman, "Alienation and Social Learning in a Reformatory," American Sociological Review, 69 (November, 1963), 270-284; Melvin Seeman and John Evans, "Alienation and Learning in a Hospital Setting," American Sociological Review, 27 (December, 1962), 772-780; Melvin Seeman, "Alienation, Membership and Political Knowledge: A Comparative Study, Public Opinion Quarterly, 30 (Fall, 1966), 353-367.

[16] H. Edward Ransford, "Isolation, Powerlessness and Violence: A Study of Attitudes and Participation in the Watts Riot," American Journal of Sociology, 73 (March, 1968), 581-591; H. Edward Ransford, "Negro Participation in Civil Rights Activity and Violence," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology of University of California, Los Angeles, 1966.

Ransford's measure of powerlessness, as well as Seeman's usual measure, consisted of forced choice items. The following is an example of the twelve items used by Ransford:

1. _____The world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.
   _____The average citizen can have an influence on government decisions.
2. _____Getting a job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.
   _____Becoming a success is a matter of hard work; luck has little to do with it.

The measure of powerlessness of this research differed from Seeman and Ransford's measure in that respondents were asked how much effect individuals could have for a specific situation, i.e. the Vietnam conflict. Respondents were given four alternatives as to how much could be done about the situation ranging from "a great deal" to "nothing at all." The measure of powerlessness included two items, one asked how much "you as an individual can do about the Vietnam conflict" and how much "people working as a group or organization can do about the Vietnam conflict."

Respondents of the present study felt more powerless as individuals than as members of organizations. Forty-eight per cent believed that as individuals they could do "hardly anything" or "nothing at all" about the Vietnam situation while 22 per cent were so characterized on the "people working as a group or organization" item.

Because of the differences in measuring powerlessness between the two studies comparisons of findings of the present study with Ransford's data are restricted. Unlike the lack of association between powerlessness and militant civil rights participation (demonstrations) for Ransford's data, powerlessness in the present study is negatively associated with participation in militant anti-Vietnam war activities (demonstrations). As in Ransford's study, however, powerlessness in the present study is negatively correlated with participation in conservative anti-Vietnam was activities (contributing money, attending rallies and belonging to organizations).

The chi square test failed to show any statistically significant difference between militant and conservative anti-Vietnam war and civil rights participations regarding individual and group powerlessness, thus, no distinctions are made in Tables IV-16 and IV-17 between militant and conservative social protest participation.

Table IV-16

Individual Powerlessness and Participation in Anti-Vietnam War Activities

Amount an individual can do about the Vietnam conflict	Participation	Nonparticipation	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%	
A great deal	46.2	53.8	100	(26)
A moderate amount	35.0	65.0	100	(137)
Hardly anything	15.6	84.4	100	(141)
Nothing at all	16.7	83.3	100	(12)
			100	(316)

Gamma = .46   Z = 2.26 $P < .05$

Table IV-17

Group Powerlessness and Participation in Anti-Vietnam War Activities

Amount people working as a group or organization can do about the Vietnam conflict	Participation	Nonparticipation	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%	
A great deal	41.8	58.2	100	(67)
A moderate amount	27.4	72.6	100	(179)
Hardly anything	10.4	89.6	100	(67)
Nothing at all	0.0	100.0	100	(2)
			100	(315)

Gamma = .46   Z = 2.23 $P < .05$

Respondents were not asked about their perceptions of powerlessness concerning the civil rights movement. Perception of powerlessness concerning the Vietnam situation is, however, negatively correlated with civil rights participation. The gamma for the relationship between individual powerlessness and civil rights participation was .31 while the gamma for group powerlessness and civil rights participation was .46.

Ransford found that Negro respondents who were high in powerlessness were the most likely to indicate a willingness to use violence in the civil rights struggle. Although handicapped in analysis by the fact that only six per cent of clergy advocated that Negroes use violence in their struggle if other means were ineffective, respondents willing to use violence were not higher in powerlessness for the Vietnam situation than the other respondents.

Powerlessness is associated with liberalism-conservatism with a gamma of .34; this is consistent with the previously discussed relationship between powerlessness and social protest participation. Political liberals are more optimistic about efforts to influence the Vietnam situation than conservatives.

Since liberalism-conservatism is highly related to powerlessness, liberalism-conservatism might be what accounts for social protest participation instead of powerlessness *per se*. Table IV-18 shows the relationships between group powerlessness and participation in anti-Vietnam protest within the categories of liberalism-conservatism which have enough cases of participation to analyze. Powerlessness remains negatively associated with social protest participation with liberalism-conservatism controlled; the strength of the relationships generally increases with greater liberalism.

Table IV-18

Group Powerlessness and Participation in Anti-Vietnam War Activities with Liberalism-Conservatism Controlled

	Liberalism-Conservatism			
	All Liberal			
Amount people working as a group or organization can do about the Vietnam conflict	Participation	Nonparticipation	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%	
A great deal	75.0	25.0	100	(24)
A moderate amount	55.8	44.2	100	(43)
Hardly anything	0.0	100.0	100	(2)
Nothing at all	0.0	100.0	100	(1)
Total	60.0	40.0	100	(70)
Gamma = .53				
	Liberal			
A great deal	50.0	50.0	100	(12)
A moderate amount	55.0	45.0	100	(40)
Hardly anything	40.0	60.0	100	(10)
Nothing at all	--	--	100	(00)
Total	51.6	48.4	100	(62)
Gamma = .10				
	Mixed			
A great deal	16.6	83.3	100	(24)
A moderate amount	4.9	95.1	100	(61)
Hardly anything	7.9	92.1	100	(38)
Total	8.1	91.9	100	(123)
Gamma = .23				

Another consideration of the powerlessness framework is the relationship between powerlessness and the other intervening variable of this chapter, interest in social and political issues. Consistent with Seeman's research, the expectation would be that powerlessness is negatively associated with interest in social and political issues. One would not be concerned with issues over which he feels no control. Data analysis is restricted because respondents generally were interested in social and political issues. Although the findings are at best only suggestive, the gamma for the relationships between individual and group powerlessness to interest in social and political issues were .22 and .27 respectively.

As Table IV-19 shows, powerlessness is related to theology, free will-determinism and collective responsibility-self reliance in an expected manner considering the

Table IV-19

Relationships (gamma) of Powerlessness With Religious Ideas and Cultural Postulates

Religious ideas and cultural postulates	Gamma Group Powerlessness	Gamma Individual Powerlessness
Theology	.47	.36
Free will-determinism	.15*	.24
Collective responsibility-self reliance:		
(Q. 58)	.43	.44
(Q. 59)	.27	.32

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*not statistically significant

previously discussed association between powerlessness and liberalism-conservatism. Theological liberals, free will adherents and collective responsibility advocates generally feel less powerless than their counterparts.

Conclusion

It was anticipated that theology of clergy would have an important effect for positions on social and political issues. Theologies which place ultimate concern with extra-worldly matters were hypothesized to be more conservative on social and political issues than theologies which stressed worldly matters. Clergy who described themselves as liberal on theological matters were the least traditional or orthodox in their beliefs concerning the existence of God, Divinity of Jesus, life after death and punishment after death. Neo-orthodox, conservative and fundamentalist theologians were progressively more traditional or orthodox concerning the doctrinal items investigated. Since clergy who described their theology as liberal and were the least traditional regarding doctrinal orthodoxy were politically the most liberal, the anticipations of this research of the interrelations among clergy, theology, doctrinal orthodoxy and liberalism-conservatism are supported. Additional support is displayed by the fact that neo-orthodox, conservative and fundamentalist theologians were progressively less liberal politically. Consistent with the reported relationships between religious denomination and liberalism-conservatism of the last chapter, United Methodist and United Church of Christ pastors were the least traditional on doctrinal issues and the most likely to describe their theology as liberal. American Baptist and Roman Catholic pastors were the most traditional on doctrinal issues and usually described their theology as conservative or fundamentalist.

The conception of orthodoxy as having two dimensions, doctrinal orthodoxy and devotionalism was not an effective strategy for this research. Theologically conservative pastors prayed privately (the measure of devotionalism for this study) more than theologically liberal pastors. Greater devotionalism was associated with increased conservatism on the index of liberalism-conservatism. The dimensionality concept of orthodoxy added an additional variable without improving prediction.

Free will-determinism while probably not strictly a doctrinal orthodoxy item is an important cultural postulate. The measure of free will-determinism focused upon the relative importance of free will and conditions of society (determinism) as a "cause" of individuals committing crimes. The free will position usually is associated with conservative theology and determinism with liberal theology. The free will position is associated with preference for punishment even though pessimistic that punishment will change the behavior of the offender. Free will adherents usually are politically conservative while determinists are liberal.

Another cultural postulate investigated was the Protestant vis-a-vis capitalist ethic which was measured by Jeffries' two collective responsibility-self reliance items. Most clergy preferred the collective responsibility alternatives regarding the issues of whether people should work individually or collectively toward goals and whether aid should be given to those in need. The collective responsibility advocates generally were theologically liberal, determinists and liberal on social and political issues while the opposite was usually the case for self reliance advocates.

Interest in social and political issues and powerlessness were two variables investigated as linking religious and cultural ideas with social and political issues. While not powerfully or directly associated with religious and cultural ideas, interest in social and political issues increases liberalism on social and political issues.

Political liberals were more optimistic about individuals having an influence on United States Vietnam policies than conservatives. Powerlessness was a powerful predictor of participation in anti-Vietnam war and civil rights activities; those with high feelings of powerlessness were less likely to participate. The relationship remained after controlling for liberalism-conservatism. Theological liberals, free will advocates and collective responsibility advocates were lower in powerlessness than their counterparts.

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CHAPTER V

WORK

The general objectives of this chapter describe some aspects of respondents' work and analyze possible effects of work for social and political issues. Much of the description of aspects of pastors' work is given within the context of comparing the clergy with other occupations. To illustrate, theories which have received some research support suggest that members of highly professionalized occupations should display a higher degree of personal commitment to their work than those in less professionalized occupations.[1] Clergy thus should report that work constitutes a major portion of their life interests. The legitimacy for investigating possible effects of work for social and political issues stems from neo-Marxian and mass society theories.[2] Work which is viewed by participants as intrinsically unrewarding will supposedly pervade modern society. Persons who engage in intrinsically unrewarding work will display reactions (e.g. work dissatisfaction) which will effect their behavior regarding social and political issues.

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[1] For example, see Howard Vollmer and Donald Mills, editors, Professionalization (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966).

[2] For a brief, apt explication of this scholarly framework see Melvin Seeman, "On the Personal Consequences of Alienation in Work," American Sociological Review, 30 (April, 1967), 273-283.

Thus, anticipations of results of this study engendered by the professional model used in comparative occupational analysis contrasted with hypotheses derived from neo-Marxian, mass society theory are quite opposite. A major burden for this chapter is to determine whether the professional or neo-Marxian, mass society model more aptly describes aspects of the clergy work situation.

Aspects of pastors' work encompass respondents' description of facets of their work and some reactions to their work. Pastors' descriptions of their work include: (1) importance of work relative to pastors' total life interests, (2) amount of interesting activity pastors find in their work, (3) how much control pastors feel they have over their work and (4) involvement in occupational communities. Attitudes toward personal retirement, pastors' satisfaction with their work and types of occupational organizations preferred are reactions to work investigated in this study. Interesting work activity, personal control over work and occupational communities are discussed within the context of work alienation theory and research.

In an attempt to more directly ascertain if pastors' work _per se_ had any effect for social and political issues, respondents were asked if their political orientation had changed since entering the clergy and the nature of any change, i.e., more liberal or conservative. Relationships for this item with work, theology, religious denomination and liberalism-conservatism were analyzed.

Pastors Descriptions of Their Work

The expectations that individuals' work has effects for other areas of behavior is theoretically more plausible when work is of major importance for the persons concerned. Some scholarly speculation and research suggest that work for most is not a major source of personal satisfaction. Dubin's study of the "central life interests of industrial workers" found that work did not constitute important concerns for that group. Regarding the areas of informal relations, general personal satisfaction and "total central life interest," Dubin[3] found that industrial workers mostly acquired their satisfactions in nonwork activities. For formal organizational relations and relations involving aspects of technology work did, however, constitute a major source of satisfaction.

Most students of the professions assume that professionals will display a higher degree of involvement in their work than less professionalized occupations.

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[3] Robert Dubin,"'Industrial Worker' Worlds: A Study of 'Central Live Interests' of Industrial Workers," Social Problems, 3 (January, 1956), 131-142.

Orzack[4] using Dubin's questionnaire found with a sample of nurses that work was more important for the central life interests of nurses than was the case for Dubin's industrial workers. Only in the area of informal relations was nonwork activities given greater importance by nurses and in this area the preference was small.

Although probably most scholars assume that clergy display a high degree of commitment to their work, to my knowledge there has been no previous research directly bearing on the subject. Dubin's instrument included numerous questions concerning the importance of work for respondents. This study used a single, direct item as to how important was work relative to respondents' total life interest. The alternatives included the per cent of their life interest work constituted for respondents. Since this study included other objectives, a replication of Dubin's instrument was impractical. However for highly educated respondents there is no compelling reason why the single, direct question utilized in this study cannot effectively tap the importance which respondents give to their work in relation to their total life interest.

The column margins of Table V-1 is the sample frequency distribution of the per cent of their life interests respondents give to their work and shows, as exptected,

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[4] L. H. Orzack, "Work as a 'Central Life Interest' of Professionals," Social Problems, 7 (Fall, 1959), 127.

Table V-1

Religious Denomination and Importance Respondents Ascribe to Their Work

	Portion of Life Interests Ascribed to Work						
	Almost all	About 75%	About 50%	About 25%	Almost none	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
American Baptist	56.5	34.8	8.7	0.0	0.0	100	(69)
United Methodist	41.2	48.5	8.8	1.5	0.0	100	(68)
Anglican	47.4	47.4	3.8	1.3	0.0	100	(78)
United Church of Christ	50.0	41.7	6.7	0.0	1.7	100	(60)
Roman Catholic	74.4	18.6	0.0	7.0	0.0	100	(43)
Total	52.2	39.9	6.0	1.6	0.3	100	(318)

Chi Square = 33 16 d.f. $P < .05$

that their work is very important to these respondents. Almost all said that work constituted 50 per cent or more of their life interest. Table V-1 also gives the importance of work for pastors of the various denominations. Work is the most important for Roman Catholics and the least for United Methodists. The differences among denominations are not large.

Theologically, conservative pastors give greater importance to their work in relation to their total life interests than their colleagues. Political conservatives give greater importance to their work than liberals. Importance of work tends to decrease interest in social and political issues. The gamma values for the relationships are .26, .45 and .35 respectively.

Plausibly, when almost all of individuals life interests consist of their work, there is little time for interest in social and political issues. Consequently, a sufficient level of concern for social and political issues necessary for taking liberal positions is absent. Such might be the case for occupations except those which directly and almost exclusively deal with social and political issues, e.g. organizers for political organizations.

Alienation

With the broad referent sometimes given to the concept of alienation this entire chapter could fall within the confines of alienation. However this report will label the amount of interesting activities individuals find in their work, amount of control respondents feel they have over their work and involvement in occupational communities as measurements of three dimensions of alienation from work.

Aspects of alienation have been a characterization used to describe modern United States clergy,[5] especially Protestant (perhaps in most recent times no differences as to degrees of alienation between Protestant and Roman Catholic clergy would be assumed). The clergy is said to lack a clear delineation of its responsibilities to its religious ideals, denominational officials and congregations. If a canonical definition of the ministers office exists, it is in abstract, general form. Some denominations have no authoritarian statements of belief which set the intellectual framework of the ministry. With traditional authority eroded and institutional authority weak, the clergyman is left to his own resources often with great dependence on the laity. Although students of the clergy have, in essence, described the clergy in a manner just presented, there is (to my knowledge) no "firm" data as to the extent of alienation among the clergy. Also sparse or nonexistent in research as to frequently hypothesized consequences of alienation such as dissatification with work, political liberalism or social protest participation.

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[5] J. M. Gustafson, "The Clergy in the United States," in K. S. Lynn, editor, The Professions in America (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965), 70-90.

Blauner,[6] using data compiled by the Roper survey of employees of five industries, employed Seeman's dimensions of alienation to investigate alienation among workers. Blauner concluded that from the standpoint of all dimensions automobile assembly line workers were the most alienated and printers the least alienated. Most industries presented a mixed picture; workers were high on some dimensions while low on others. For all five industries meaninglessness emerged as the most serious problem for workers. This research investigated three dimensions of alienation: meaninglessness, powerlessness and isolation.

Perhaps a major source of the meaninglessness dimension of work alienation is the routinization and fractionization of work tasks. With the performance of segmented, repetitive tasks work is not interesting, thus devoid of much positive meaning for the worker. Blauner found that the per cent of workers by industry describing their work as "interesting nearly all the time" ranged from 24 per cent to 58 per cent with a mean of 44 per cent. Printers displayed the 58 per cent. As the column margins of Table V-2 show, 55 per cent described their work as "nearly always interesting" while 44 per cent said "mostly interesting." Table V-2 shows little difference among denominations

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[6] Robert Blauner, Alienation and Freedom: The Factory Worker and His Industry (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

Table V-2

Religious Denomination and Amount of Interesting Activity Respondents Find in Their Work

	Amount of Interesting Activity Found in Work					
	Interesting nearly all the time	Interesting most of the time	Mostly uninteresting	Dull and monotonous	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%	%	%	
American Baptist	52.2	47.8	0.0	0.0	100	(69)
United Methodist	50.7	47.8	1.4	0.0	100	(69)
Anglican	61.3	38.7	0.0	0.0	100	(80)
United Church of Christ	56.7	40.0	1.7	1.7	100	(60)
Roman Catholic	51.2	44.2	0.0	4.7	100	(43)
Total	54.8	43.6	0.6	0.9	100	(321)

Chi Square = 14   12 d.f.   not significant as to the amounts of interest they find in their work.

The weak and not statistically significant gamma of -.13 for the association between how interesting respondents find their work and liberalism-conservatism indicates the two variables have little effect for each other. The direction of the relationship (negative gamma value) is consistent with the theoretical speculations that meaningless work is conducive to leftist politics.

Two items were used to tap powerlessness in feelings toward work. One item asked how often respondents felt their work gave them a chance to try out ideas of their own and the other item asked respondents how much control they had over their work. Although the two items were highly correlated with a gamma of .75, some respondents seem to feel that control over work is not identical with opportunities to try out ideas. Tables V-3 and V-4 show respondents have considerable control over their work with frequent opportunities to try out ideas. Roman Catholic pastors feel the most powerless in their work. There is little difference among the Protestant denominations regarding powerlessness toward work.

The utility of the concept of powerlessness toward work is enhanced if associated with perceptions of powerlessness in other areas, which for this study, is individual and group powerlessness regarding the Vietnam situation.

Data based upon a sample of male workers in Malmo,

Table V-3

Religious Denomination and Respondents Perceptions of How Often Their Work Gives Them a Chance to Try Ideas of Their Own

	How Often Are You Able to Try Out Ideas of Your Own?					
	Almost all of the time %	Much of the time %	Some of the time %	Almost never %	Total %	Total Number
American Baptist	39.1	44.9	15.9	0.0	100	(69)
United Methodist	43.5	46.4	10.1	0.0	100	(69)
Anglican	32.5	58.8	8.7	0.0	100	(80)
United Church of Christ	33.3	46.7	16.7	3.3	100	(60)
Roman Catholic	20.9	39.5	37.2	2.3	100	(43)
Total	34.9	48.3	15.9	0.9	100	(321)

Chi Square = 30 12 d.f. $P < .01$

Table V-4

Religious Denomination and Respondents Perceptions of the Amount of Control They Have Over Their Work

	How Much Control Do You Feel That You Have Over Your Work?					
	A great deal %	Some %	A little %	Almost none %	Total %	Total Number
American Baptist	72.5	24.6	1.4	1.4	100	(69)
United Methodist	76.8	21.7	1.4	0.0	100	(69)
Anglican	78.8	21.2	0.0	0.0	100	(80)
United Church of Christ	73.3	25.0	0.0	1.7	100	(60)
Roman Catholic	61.9	26.2	7.1	4.8	100	(42)
Total	73.8	23.4	1.6	1.2	100	(320)

Chi Square = 18 12 d.f. $P < .20$

Sweden, Seeman[7] concluded that work alienation and powerlessness generally were unrelated. Work alienation was measured by an index constructed from seven items. Two of the seven items were used in this study: how much interest respondents felt their work held for them and whether respondents felt their work gave them an opportunity to try out new ideas. The measure of powerlessness was the fifteen usual items employed by Seeman and his associates such as the relative importance of work and luck in vocational success. Work powerlessness and perceptions of powerlessness for the Vietnam situation were related in this study in a weak to moderate fashion. The gamma values ranged from .20 to .29.

Seeman[8] concluded that work alienation was unrelated to political attitudes and involvement. This study supports Seeman's conclusion. The gamma values in this study of the relationships of the two measures of powerlessness with participation in civil rights and anti-Vietnam activities and liberalism-conservatism were not statistically significant.

The logical opposite of isolation from colleagues, a dimension of work alienation is the concept of an occupational community. Durkheim[9] pointed to the relationship between mass society (absence of widespread citizen participation in independent collectives) and nondemocratic forms of government.

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[7] Seeman, *loc. cit.*

[8] *Ibid.*

> Collective activity is always too complex to be able to be expressed through the single and unique organ of the State. Moreover, the State is too remote from individuals; its relations with them too external and intermittent to penetrate deeply within individual consciences and socialize them within. Where the State is the only environment in which men can live communal lives, they inevitably lose contact, become detached and society disintegrates. A nation can be maintained only if, between the State and the individual, there is interrelated a whole series of secondary groups near enough to individuals to attract them strongly in their sphere of action and drag them, in this way into the general torrent of social life.

For Durkheim, in an industralized society with an organic solidarity based upon a complex division of labor, the most logical, effective mediator between individuals and the State is an occupational community. As a syllogism, Durkheim's propositions lead to the conclusion that involvement in an occupational community increases social protest participation.

The classical utilization of the concept of occupational community was in a study of internal politics of the International Typographical Union by Lipset[10] and associates. The basic objective of the research was to discover why, seemingly unlike many labor unions, the ITU was democratically controlled by the rank and file membership. Lipset concluded that an extensive occupational community among printers was a prime conducive factor for membership control of the union.

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[9] Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor (2nd ed.; Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1947), p. 28.

[10] S. M. Lipset, et al., Union Democracy (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books of Doubleday and Company, 1962).

Participation in printers' formal social organizations and informal social relations were the two indexes of involvement in the occupational community. Formal social organizations included benefit societies, war veterans, printers, sports organizations and others composed mostly of printers. Informal social relations were concerned with having friends who were printers and engaging in informal social relations with printers when not at work.

Since several denominations were investigated, participation in clergy formal organizations was not probed. Denominations would probably differ as to the formal organizations available to its clergy. Thus the finding that certain clergy were more involved in formal clergy organization might be mostly due to differential opportunities. Since respondents of this study were residents of an urban complex, the opportunities to engage in informal relations with other clergy probably were available to almost all.

At least two types of occupational communities among clergy are possible. One is a community of clergy of the same faith and the other consists of clergy of different faiths. Respondents were asked how many of their five closest friends were clergy of their faith and how many were clergy of other faiths. Respondents also were asked how after they met socially with clergy of their faith as well as clergy of other faiths.

Table V-5 gives the frequency distributions of the denominations for the two items used to measure intra-faith occupational community. The column margins show the extent of involvement in intra-faith occupational communities for the entire sample. Roman Catholic pastors are the most active in the community from the standpoint of number of closest friends and frequency of informal social relations. Most clergy displayed some involvement. Not surprisingly the gamma of .54 for the relationship between number of friends among clergy of the same faith and frequency of informal social relations indicate that the two items positively are strongly related.

Table V-6 gives the frequency distribution the denominations for the two items used to measure inter-faith occupational community and the column margins show the extent of involvement for the entire sample. There were almost no consistent difference among the denominations as to number of best friends among clergy of other faiths. Roman Catholic clergy have fewer informal social relations with clergy of other faiths than the other denominations. Pastors generally were less involved in the inter-faith

Table V-5

Religious Denomination and Intra-Faith Occupational Community Involvement

Of Your Five Closest Friends, How Many Are Clergy of Your Faith?

	None %	One %	Two %	Three %	Four %	All %	Total %	Total Number
American Baptist	11.8	20.6	35.3	19.1	7.4	5.9	100	(68)
United Methodist	11.6	18.8	21.7	26.1	14.5	7.2	100	(69)
Anglican	20.0	26.2	28.8	12.5	6.2	6.2	100	(80)
United Church of Christ	17.2	19.0	37.9	17.2	5.2	3.4	100	(58)
Roman Catholic	7.0	2.3	20.9	27.9	14.0	27.9	100	(43)
Total	14.2	18.9	29.2	19.8	9.1	8.8	100	(318)

Chi Square = 49 20 d.f. $P < .05$

How Often Do you Meet Socially Clergy of Your Faith?

	Almost never %	2 or 3 times a year %	once a month %	3 or 4 times a month %	2 or 3 times a week %	Total %	Total Number
American Baptist	14.7	27.9	44.1	8.8	4.4	100	(68)
United Methodist	13.0	18.8	50.7	15.9	1.4	100	(69)
Anglican	32.9	30.4	24.1	12.7	0.0	100	(79)
United Church of Christ	23.3	46.7	28.3	1.7	0.0	100	(60)
Roman Catholic	11.6	18.6	18.6	41.9	9.3	100	(43)
Total	20.1	28.8	34.2	14.4	2.5	100	(319)

Chi Square = 79 16 d.f. $P < .001$

Table V-6

Religious Denomination and Inter-Faith Occupational Community Involvement

Of Your Five Closest Friends, How Many Are Members of the Clergy of Another Faith?

	None %	One %	Two %	Three %	Four %	All %	Total %	Total Number
American Baptist	41.2	27.9	19.1	8.8	0.0	2.9	100	(68)
United Methodist	50.0	25.0	16.2	5.9	1.5	1.5	100	(68)
Anglican	51.3	23.1	16.7	3.8	5.1	0.0	100	(78)
United Church of Christ	37.5	12.5	21.4	21.4	5.4	1.8	100	(56)
Roman Catholic	76.7	7.0	7.0	4.7	0.0	4.7	100	(43)
Total	49.8	20.4	16.6	8.6	2.6	1.9	100	(313)

Chi Square = 45   20 d.f. $P < .05$

About How Often do you Meet Socially Clergy of a Faith Other Than Your Own?

	Almost never %	2 or 3 times a year %	Once a month %	3 or 4 times a month %	2 or 3 times a week %	Total %	Total Number
American Baptist	33.3	37.7	24.6	4.3	0.0	100	(69)
United Methodist	36.8	44.1	13.2	5.9	0.0	100	(68)
Anglican	50.0	22.5	22.5	5.0	0.0	100	(80)
United Church of Christ	46.7	38.3	11.7	3.3	0.0	100	(60)
Roman Catholic	64.3	21.4	9.5	2.4	2.4	100	(42)
Total	44.8	33.2	17.2	4.4	0.3	100	(319)

Chi Square = 29   16 d.f. $P < .20$

than in the intra-faith community.

Involvement in one type of occupational community (inter- or intra-faith) generally has no effect on involvement in the other type. The exception is a positive relationship between frequency of inter-faith social activities with frequency of intra-faith activities (gamma = .47).

Neither type of occupational community involvement is associated with liberalism-conservatism. Although in a weak fashion involvement in inter-faith occupational communities is positively, consistently related to participation in civil rights and anti-Vietnam war activities (gamma = .11, .16, .18 and .20). Involvement in intra-faith occupational communities is related to participation in civil rights and anti-Vietnam activities for meeting socially with clergy of the same faith but not for having clergy of the same faith among the respondents five best friends (gamma = .15 and .17). Durkheim's conclusion that participation in collectivities intermediary between individuals and the State increase social protest participation seems to weakly hold in the case of clergy occupational community. However the importance of the weak relationship is enhanced when considering that occupational community did not predict liberalism-conservatism.

The relationship of occupational community and social protest participation perhaps is partly due from clergy stimulating one another to become active in controversy.

The possibilities of wider selection of friends provided in the urban complex from which this sample was drawn increase the chances of clergy finding friends who are of similar views on social and political issues. Similarities of views may serve as a reinforcement for individuals' positions. Lipset and associates found that printers who worked in shops with over thirty printers as opposed to shops of lesser size displayed more interest and participation in union politics. The authors make this suggestion:[11]

> ...the large shops permit a greater measure of self selection in the informal relations among shopmates on the job, and more frequently tend to develop into the kinds of close relations which have consequence for the participants' union interest and involvement.

The legitimacy for the drawing of analogies between clergy and printers concerning the effects of occupational community involvement for social and political issues is increased by both occupations having "odd hours." Lipset concluded that shift work was a prime reason for the development of occupational communities. Recreational associates are greatly limited to those who have the same hours "off the job." Another major factor shared by printers and clergy which Lipset suggests as important for the establishment of occupational communities is that both groups have high esteem for their occupation. Additionally, many nonclergy might feel a reluctance to engage in friendship activities because of feelings that clergy is an occupation which is somewhat apart from the general population.

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[11] Ibid., p. 220.

Unlike Lipset for example, the items measuring occupational community were not reported as an index in this report. Lipset scored having one or more friends as members of the same occupation as +1 while the other responses were coded as 0. Meeting socially with other printers was scored as +1 and the other responses as 0. Although using an index is more parsimonious than reporting relationships for each item, the employment of Lipset's index did not generally improve prediction in this study over using items separately. However the prime reason for not reporting an index was the absence, in my opinion, of a logical criteria for coding the responses used in the index. To illustrate, why should having one or more friends be scored as +1?

A peripheral adjunct to the concept of the occupational community is contacts with clergy of different race and religion from that of the respondent. Contacts have a less restrictive referent than occupational community because contacts may include interaction other than "social," e.g., recreational and/or friendship. A persistent research finding shows that equalitarian contacts with Negroes is associated with more favorable attitudes toward Negroes and civil rights activities. For example, Jeffries and

Ransford concluded:[12]

> The results of this study show that the presence or absence of the experience of equlitarian social contact with Negroes is an important factor in the way Whites in the sample reacted to the Watts riot. To summarize the relationships [that held up well through control analysis] it was demonstrated that those lacking contact were more aware of the presence of Negroes after the riot, were more fearful of Negroes, cited more outside agitator explanations, evidenced more feelings of increased social distance and placed greater reliance on punitive solutions to urban-disorders than those having contacts.

This study emphasized equalitarian contacts when respondents were asked the number of conversations during last month that they had with clergy of other races. If contacts had occurred, the races were to be specified.

As a replication of Lenski's[13] investigation of inter-faith contacts, respondents were asked to indicate the number of their conversations during the last month with Jewish Rabbis and the other major Christian group in this country (Roman Catholic or Protestant). The theories and research which suggest an association between contacts with Negroes and favorability of attitudes toward Negroes were extended to a consideration of inter-faith contacts and attitudes. The anticipation that inter-faith contacts would be associated with decreased negative attitudes pertaining to members of other faiths is increased for this research by the previously reported relationship between the inter-faith occupational community and social protest participation.

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[12] Vincent Jeffries and H. Edward Ransford, "Interracial Social Contact and Middle Class White Reactions to the Watts Riot," Social Problems (publication forthcoming).

[13] Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961).

Lenski found a low level of inter-faith contacts among Detroit clergy. Only 19 per cent of the White Protestant and 5 per cent of Negro Protestant clergy had spoken with Roman Catholic clergy during the preceding month. Over half of those who had engaged in conversations with clergy of another faith had done so only once. Sixteen per cent of Roman Catholic clergy reported conversations with Protestant clergy. Contacts with Jewish Rabbis were almost nonexistent.

Tables V-7 and V-8 give the frequency distribution for inter-faith and interracial contacts for each denomination. Although the number of cases are not large enough to be very meaningful, Negro Protestant contacts with White, Roman Catholic and Jewish clergy were excluded from the table. Differences among denominations concerning inter-faith and interracial contacts follow the pattern for involvement in the inter-faith occupational communities. Politically and theologically liberal denominations seem to live a less cloistered life than their more conservative colleagues. As the column margins indicate, this sample displayed greater inter-faith contacts than did Lenski's Detroit sample.

Table V-7

Religious Denomination and Inter-Faith Clergy Contacts

During the Last Month About How Many Conversations Did You Have With Jewish Rabbis?

	None	One	Two	Once a week	More than one a week	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
American Baptist	85.3	10.3	2.9	1.5	0.0	100	(68)
United Methodist	53.6	24.6	18.8	2.9	0.0	100	(69)
Anglican	69.6	17.7	10.1	1.3	1.3	100	(79)
United Church of Christ	66.7	25.0	5.0	1.7	1.7	100	(60)
Roman Catholic	88.4	7.0	2.3	2.3	0.0	100	(43)
Total	71.5	17.6	8.5	1.9	0.6	100	(319)

Chi Square = 33   16 d.f.   P < .01

During the Last Month How Many Conversations Did You Have With Clergy of the Other Major Christian Group (Roman Catholic or Protestant)?

	None	One	Two	Once a week	More than one a week	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
American Baptist	31.9	20.3	29.0	13.0	5.8	100	(69)
United Methodist	24.6	24.6	27.5	10.1	13.0	100	(69)
Anglican	12.5	20.0	28.8	28.8	10.0	100	(80)
United Church of Christ	21.7	21.7	31.7	16.7	8.3	100	(60)
Roman Catholic	27.9	39.5	18.6	7.0	7.0	100	(43)
Total	23.1	24.0	27.7	16.2	9.0	100	(321)

Chi Square = 28   16 d.f.   P < .05

Table V-8

Religious Denomination and Interracial Clergy Contacts

	During the Last Month About How Many Conversations did you Have With Clergy of Another Racial Group?						
	None %	One %	Two %	Once a Week %	More than one a week %	Total %	Total Number
American Baptist	29.0	23.2	30.4	14.5	2.9	100	(65)
United Methodist	14.5	18.8	39.1	14.4	13.0	100	(65)
Anglican	36.3	18.8	27.5	8.7	8.7	100	(76)
United Church of Christ	30.5	25.4	15.3	20.3	8.5	100	(56)
Roman Catholic	44.2	27.9	16.3	11.6	0.0	100	(43)
Total	30.0	22.2	26.9	13.7	7.2	100	(305)

Chi Square = 32   16 d.f. $P < .01$

For this study frequency of contacts with Negro clergy is positively with White Pastors' attitudes toward Negroes and the civil rights movement. This study, therefore, reinforces conclusions from other research of the positive relationship between White equalitarian contacts with Negroes and favorable attitudes toward Negroes. The gamma values for the relationships of contacts with Negro clergy to favoring the civil rights movement, participation in civil rights activities, attitudes toward housing discrimination and preference for Negro civil rights strategy were .32, .51, .42 and .57 respectively.

This study supports the extension of the relationship of contacts and attitudes concerning Negroes to a consideration of inter-faith contacts. Greater contacts with Jewish clergy increased approval for racial and religious nondiscrimination in housing (gamma = .44). For Protestant clergy, frequency of contacts with Roman Catholic clergy positively was related to disapproval of racial and religious discrimination in housing (gamma = .34).

Time order in the relationship of contacts and attitudes is a crucial question, however, these data do not provide answers. Plausibly contacts or favorable attitudes could occur prior to the other. My opinion as to the nature of the relationship of contacts and attitudes is similar to the views expressed by Jeffries and Ransford:[14]

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[14] Jeffries and Ransford, op. cit.

> ...Those who hold negative beliefs about Negroes avoid social contact with them. Their stereotyped beliefs are in no way challenged by intimate contact with Negroes...However, among a group of more tolerant individuals, some at least, are likely to have social contact with Negroes and when such contact does take place the white person becomes more knowledgeable of the discrimination barriers Negroes face... With the recent report by the President's Commission on Civil Disorders, an interesting question arose, 'which segment of the white population will support the sweeping programs recommended by the commission?' An abvious answer is that the group with negative attitudes toward Negroes will not...relatively tolerant people who have experienced social contact with Negroes will support the recommendations of the commission more than tolerant people lacking social contact.

Some Possible Reactions of Clergy to Their Work: Dissatisfaction, Retirement and Unionization

Although studies have shown that individuals have numerous complaints about their work such as monotony and lack of control, individual dissatisfaction with work is not widespread as measured by responses to direct questions about work satisfaction.[15] In almost all studies from 75 to 90 per cent of respondents indicate they are at least "somewhat satisfied" with their work. Since clergy find their work more interesting and believe they have more control over their work than is the case for most occupations, it might be anticipated that more than 90 per cent of this sample would express satisfaction with their work. Eighty-six per cent of this sample, however, were at least "somewhat satisfied" with their work and 54 per cent were "very satisfied." Differences among denominations concerning work satisfaction were not large. Roman Catholic pastors were the most satisfied and United Church of Christ the least. Work dissatisfaction was not a characteristic of politically liberal denominations generally; United Methodist had the same per cent of at least "somewhat satisfied" as the Roman Catholic faith.

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[15] Blauner, op. cit.

Clergy who found their work interesting and felt that they had considerable control over their work were more satisfied with work than those expressing opposite feelings (gamma = .58, .52, and .42). Work dissatisfaction was a weak moderate predictor of increased political liberalism and civil rights participation with gamma values of .20 and .28 respectively. Work satisfaction did not at all, however, predict anti-Vietnam war activities.

Even though the association between work dissatisfaction and liberalism on social and political issues is not strong, it is superior to the essentially unrelated nature of liberalism-conservatism with work powerlessness and meaninglessness. The data suggest that individuals must be dissatisfied with alienated work before it has any effect for social and political issues and alienated work often does not produce work dissatisfaction.

Like work dissatisfaction, desire to retire from work if a sufficient income were available without working, is not generally high among the various occupations studied.

Table V-9

Religious Denomination and Work Satisfaction

Generally, How Satisfied Are You With Your Present Work?

	Very satisfied %	Somewhat satisfied %	Somewhat dissatisfied %	Very dissatisfied %	Total %	Total Number
American Baptist	53.6	36.2	8.7	1.4	100	(69)
United Methodist	58.0	30.4	11.6	0.0	100	(69)
Anglican	55.0	35.0	7.5	2.5	100	(80)
United Church of Christ	41.7	31.7	18.3	8.3	100	(60)
Roman Catholic	65.1	23.3	7.0	4.7	100	(43)
Total	54.2	32.1	10.6	3.1	100	(321)

Chi Square = 18 12 d.f. $P < .20$

Morse and Weiss[16] found that 80 per cent of a national sample would keep working if they inherited enough money to live comfortably. Slightly more than 12 per cent of this sample would retire if an adequate income was available; there were no significant differences among the denominations.

Respondents who would retire expressed greater work dissatisfaction; believed that their work gave them less a chance to try out ideas of their own, felt less control over work, and found their work less interesting than clergy who would continue working. The gamma values for the relationships were .52, .40, .37, and .29 respectively.

Those who preferred to retire from work were slightly more likely to take liberal positions on social and political issues or engage in social protest than clergy who would continue working (the difference was not statistically significant).

Since 1967 the news media has given considerable publicity to attempts by some former Roman Catholic clergy to establish a labor union of priests. Other organizations which proponents describe as professional organizations have been proposed by some clergy and in a few instances organizational beginnings have been accomplished. News media observers sometimes have interpreted the organizational attempts as indications of widespread work discontent

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[16] Nancy Morse and Robert Weiss, "The Function and Meaning of Work and the Job," American Sociological Review, 20 (April, 1955), 191-198.

As previously reported, these data show the supposition was not completely accurate.

Table V-9 shows that preference for a labor union is not substantial among this sample (5%). However, about half (51%) did not feel that present occupational organizations were sufficient.

Although denominations differ as to the occupational organizations its clergy prefer, a pattern describing these differences is difficult to ascertain. No Roman Catholic pastor endorsed a labor union for clergy yet 45 per cent believed that present organizations were not sufficient in that they checked the professional organization alternative. Ten per cent of United Methodist clergy endorse a labor union which is two times more than any other denomination but only American Baptist were more satisfied with present organizations than Methodist clergy.

Several Methodist respondents wrote comments indicating that they felt that United Methodist clergy had an occupational organization which was more professionalized than most denominations. Perhaps United Methodist respondents who indicated that present organizations were sufficient were also favoring a professional organization. Thus fewer United Methodist respondents checked the "favor a professional organization" alternative than any of the other denominations.

American Baptist pastors were the most satisfied

Table V-10

Religious Denomination and Type of Occupational Organization Preferred

	Favor a labor union for the clergy	Favor a professional organization	Present organizations are sufficient and appropriate	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%	%	
American Baptist	2.9	33.3	63.8	100	(69)
United Methodist	10.1	34.8	55.1	100	(69)
Anglican	5.1	55.7	39.2	100	(79)
United Church of Christ	5.1	54.2	40.7	100	(59)
Roman Catholic	0.0	54.8	45.2	100	(42)
Total	5.0	45.9	49.1	100	(318)
Total					

Chi Square = 20 8 d.f. $P < .05$

with present organizations. Anglican pastors were slightly less satisfied with present organizations than the other denominations.

Although not in a powerful fashion, dissatisfaction with present occupational organizations is indicative of greater work alienation (powerlessness and meaninglessness), greater work dissatisfaction and less importance for work regarding life interest. Table V-11 gives the gamma values for the relationships. Preference for a labor union was coded as concordant with the most work alienated responses. None of the seven items measuring occupational communities and contacts were related to reference for occupational organization.

Table V-11

Relationships (gamma) of Type of Occupational Organization Preferred (Q. 28) With Work Alienation

Work alienation	Gamma Values
Importance of work in relation to total life interest (Q. 15)	.40
Amount of interesting activity found in work (Q. 17)	.31
Opportunity to try out own ideas at work (Q. 18)	.29
Amount of personal control over work (Q. 19)	.27
Work satisfaction (Q. 20)	.38

Clergy who were not satisfied with present occupational organizations generally were more liberal on social and political issues and more involved in civil rights and anti-Vietnam war activities. Gamma values for the relationships were .38, .35, and .27 respectively.

Effect of Work for Social and Political Issues With Importance of Work Controlled

As stated previously the hypothesis that work has effects for social and political issues is theoretically more plausible when work is of major importance for the participants. Seeman's conclusion that work has little effect for political behavior might be downgraded on the grounds that work for most constitutes only a portion of their life interests. Since Seeman's sample was drawn from the male work force of a city, a large percentage of respondents displaying a high commitment to their work was not likely. However, deprecations of Seeman's conclusions received little comfort from most results referred to thus far in this chapter. Work is important for these clergy, yet generally, it is little related to social and political issues.

A direct attack on the suspicion (perhaps straw man) of the validity of Seeman's finding of no relationship between work and politics is afforded by controlling for importance of work and observing relationships between work and social and political issues. The strength of the measures of association should increase when the importance of work increases. Responses to the item asking pastors what percentage of their total life interest was devoted to work were trichotomized into: (1) almost all, (2) about 75% and (3) about 50% and the two other alternatives. The gamma values of the associations with social protest participation and liberalism-conservatism with the following work items were observed: (1) personal retirement, (2) amount of interesting activity found in work, (3) personal control over work and (4) work satisfaction. Only in the relationship between work satisfaction and liberalism-conservatism did the gamma values decrease as the amount of life interest individuals attributed to their work decreased (gamma = .53, .28 and .13).

Perceptions of Change in Political Orientation Since Joining the Clergy

Survey research markedly departs from the experimental design model and conclusions based on survey research necessitates different interpretations from results of scientific experiments. Survey research usually depicts correlations among variables while carefully controlled scientific experiments have a greater potential for showing causation. While survey research cannot duplicate the controlled conditions of a scientific experiment, this study attempted to partly compensate for not having a "before and after treatment" measurement of respondents regarding an hypothesized effect. The treatment in this study is membership in the clergy and the effect or response in change of positions on social and political issues.

The previously reported relationships in this chapter make no attempt to take into account before and after treatment conditions, as is the case with most sociological research. This section is an attempt to increase the likelihood that if work has an effect for social and political issues, relationships will be reflected in statistically significant associations. Also, the magnitude of the relationships will be sociologically noteworthy--not just statistically significant.

Respondents were asked if their political orientation had remained the same, become more conservative or more liberal since joining the clergy. Memory as to the nature of one's political orientation upon entering the clergy is, perhaps, not always accurate. It is, perhaps, reasonable to assume that faulty memory is randomly distributed throughout the sample. Controls are, however, still absent which would allow a highly confident conclusion that *work per se* is a cause of change in political orientations.

About half (52%) of this sample indicated that their political orientation changed since entering the clergy. Of those indicating change about four times as many respondents reported becoming more liberal than those reporting greater conservatism (41% to 11%). Since conservatism often increases with age and older respondents of this sample were more conservative than their younger colleagues, the trend toward greater liberalism is especially noteworthy. Table V-12 shows that all denominations indicate change toward greater liberalism and there were no statistically significant differences among denominations. Politically liberal denominations, United Church of Christ and United Methodist, display the greatest increases in political liberalism. However, three times as many American Baptist pastors and more than five times as many Roman Catholic pastors indicated greater liberalism in relation to increased conservatism since joining the clergy. Fewer Roman Catholic pastors had become more politically conservative than any of the other denominations, but Roman Catholic clergy had the highest per cent of experiencing no change in political orientation.

The objective of facilitating more meaningful comparisons of strength of associations among variable requires using gamma when reporting relationships between perception of change in political orientation since joining the clergy and other variables. Gamma was used in reporting measures of association in the previous sections of this chapter. Since gamma requires ordinal data, the problem of what ordinal value the three alternatives to the change in

Table V-12

Religious Denomination and Change in Political Orientation Since Joining the Clergy

	Became more liberal %	Became more conservative %	Stayed the same %	Total %	Total Number
American Baptist	38.8	13.4	47.8	100	(67)
United Methodist	52.2	11.6	36.2	100	(69)
Anglican	47.5	11.2	41.3	100	(80)
United Church of Christ	59.6	10.5	29.8	100	(57)
Roman Catholic	40.5	7.1	52.4	100	(42)
Total	47.9	11.1	41.0	100	(315)

Chi Square = 9   8 d.f.   not significant political orientation item are given must be resolved. "Becoming more liberal" was coded as concordant with the most work alienated response while "becoming more conservative" was ranked second. The ranking procedure is a compromise. Coding "becoming more conservative" and "no change" with the same rank produces slightly lower gamma values while not considering "becoming more conservative" in analysis produces higher gamma values in the relationships with aspects of work.

As previously reported most of the items measuring respondents' description of their work and reactions to work did not display significant relationships with positions on social and political issues. There were a few exceptions. For example, clergy reporting that their work constituted almost all of their life's interest were politically more conservative than those less committed. Clergy reporting greater work satisfaction were slightly more politically conservative than their more dissatisfied colleagues.

Table V-13 shows that change in political orientation since entering the clergy is consistently associated in a weak to moderate fashion with respondents' description of aspects of their work and reactions to their work. Occupational community involvement and contacts with clergy of different race and/or religion from that of the respondent were not related to change in political orientation.

Pursuing the partly simulated experimental design

Table V-13

Relationships (gamma) of Change in Political Orientation since Joining the Clergy With Respondents' Description of Aspects of the Work and Reactions to Their Work

Work and reactions to work	Gamma Values
Importance of work in relation to total live interest (Q. 15)	.23
Amount of interesting activity found in work (Q. 17)	.15
Opportunity to try out own ideas at work (Q. 18)	.24
Amount of personal control over work (Q. 19)	.16
Work satisfaction	.33
Type of occupational organization preferred (Q. 28)	.39

reasoning, a question follows. What was the political orientation of clergy who report becoming more liberal since joining the clergy compared with those who did not become more liberal at the time of entrance into the clergy? An attempted answer necessitates considerable inference.

As a start in the puzzle, respondents who report becoming more politically liberal since joining the clergy are presently more liberal than those who either remained the same or became more conservative (gamma = .39).

A pastor's personal theology is less likely to change while a member of the clergy. Clergy theological commitment probably crystallizes during formal theological education. As previously reported theology and liberalism-conservatism are very powerfully related. It is not unreasonable to speculate that the relationship between theology and liberalism-conservatism is present at time of entrance into the clergy. If this relationship is present at time of entrance into the clergy, theological liberalism should be associated with increased political liberalism after becoming a member of the clergy. The relationship is expected because of the previously reported association between those who report increased political liberalism while in the clergy and present political liberalism.

Table V-14 confirms expectations. Theological liberals increased most in political liberalism since joining the clergy with neo-orthodox clergy comprising a close second. Even though only twelve fundamentalist theologians were included in the sample, the fact that fundamentalists were the least likely to change political orientation while in the clergy is noteworthy. Nine of the twelve reported no change; two indicated greater conservatism and one reported increased liberalism.

Table V-14

Theology and Change in Political Orientation Since Joining the Clergy

	Became more liberal %	Became more conservative %	Stayed the same %	Total %	Total Number
Liberal	59.5	7.8	32.8	100	(116)
Neo-orthodox	55.2	7.5	37.3	100	(67)
Conservative	36.2	16.4	47.4	100	(116)
Fundamentalist	8.3	16.7	75.0	100	(12)
				100	(311)

Gamma = .39 Z = 1.94 $P < .05$

Thus influences probably are underway both before and at the time of entrance into the clergy which suggest what effect, if any, membership in the clergy will have for social and political issues. In the next chapter some of these hypothesized influences are examined.

Conclusion

On the descriptive level, data of this chapter support the professional model of comparative analysis of occupation in the respondents descriptions of aspects of their work. Clergy usually displayed: (1) a high percentage of life interests attributed to their work, (2) unwillingness to retire from work, (3) feeling that their work was interesting, (4) feeling that they had considerable control over their work and (5) general satisfaction with their work.

In one important area, clergy of this sample depart from the professional model anticipation. Although few respondents endorsed the concept of a labor union for clergy, a majority (54%) were not satisfied with present occupational organizations. Most of those dissatisfied favored making present organizations more similar to the legal and medical professions.

Since the rather opposite expectations of the professional model were generally supported, it becomes axiomatic that characterizing the clergy as high in work alienation is not apt. Moreover, the degree of alienation found did not usually have consequences for social and political issues. Two exceptions concerned the percentage of life interests clergy attributed to their work and work satisfaction. Decrease in percentage of life interests attributed to work was associated with greater liberalism regarding social and political issues. Respondents who were dissatisfied with their work were slightly more politically liberal than their more satisfied colleagues. Controlling for importance, individuals assigned to their work did not usually increase the relevance of work for predicting social and political issue (work dissatisfaction was the exception).

In a weak but consistent fashion, involvement in interfaith occupational communities increased participation in social protest. The importance of this relationship in supporting mass society derivations is increased since occupational community did not predict liberalism-conservatism, which was a very powerful predictor of social protest participation.

Items which were peripheral to work, contacts with clergy of different faith and/or race from that of the respondent, increased liberalism on social and political issues and participation in social protest. However, the data do not allow a determination of which came first contacts or behavior in the area of social and political issues. The finding concerning contacts reinforce generalizations of research findings for the relationship of contacts and racial prejudices.

Analysis concerning the item which asked respondents if their political orientation had changed since a member of the clergy suggests that those who became more liberal experienced greater work alienation than their colleagues. The relationships usually were weak to moderate.

Since work generally is important for clergymen, neo-Marxian, mass society suggestions that work has effects for social and political issues have been given a sympathetic research hearing. The results usually have not been favorable. Seeman's proposition to the effect that work and politics essentially are unrelated is not totally accurate for this chapter. However, considering occupations generally as well as this research, Seeman's contention is presently a reasonable interpretation.

Epilogue

Comments from respondents prompt me to feel that the traditional type of survey research (this research and Seeman's work are examples) prevents sociologists from discovering the relationships between work and social and political issues.

Research results usually do not indicate the processes by which individuals "come to terms" with their work. One respondent wrote that it was almost impossible for a clergyman to remain completely dissatisfied with his work for a long period of time and continue a high degree of commitment to their work. Work usually is relegated to a smaller portion of the pastor's total life interests. Dissatisfaction with work is decreased, for one is less likely to feel dissatisfied with the relatively unimportant aspects of life. As previously stated, the percentage of work relative to total life interests item predicts liberalism-conservatism; the item also predicts work satisfaction. Although quite speculative, work dissatisfaction might have been a more powerful predictor of political liberalism if respondents had remained dissatisfied with work instead of relegating work to a position of lesser importance.

Perhaps the dissatisfied who do not come to terms with their work leave the clergy. Although too small in number for adequate analysis, the two respondents who wrote that they were leaving the clergy afford some possible insights. Both respondents were about thirty years of age, political and theological liberals, participants in social protest and had joined the clergy to do good in life for their fellow man. They were dissatisfied with their work yet work constituted 75 per cent of their life interests. Their decision to leave the clergy often had been tortuous. One wrote:

> I have decided to leave the clergy for I feel that I must do so. The church is mostly a rather pleasant inbreed social club which

> does little to meet the needs of people. I don't know exactly how I will fill the void which leaving the clergy will give me. I am searching for something new.

Perhaps sociologists will have a more adequate understanding of factors which bring about work dissatisfaction and the consequences (if any) of work tension for social and political issues when they study those who left the clergy and why some clergy are unable to "come to terms" with their work.

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CHAPTER VI

ENTERING THE CLERGY

Factors present before and/or at the time of joining the clergy may influence the behavior of clergymen in work, theology and social and political issues. Obtaining information about respondents before they joined the clergy partly may compensate for the "after treatment only" measurement inherent in traditional survey research. Some, perhaps weak, knowledge of respondents before "treatment," i.e. work, is afforded.

Few studies have focused simultaneously on career choice and political orientation. The responses for most items will be reported for each religious denomination. Thus while extending knowledge of comparative analysis of occupations, the interests of the reader especially specializing in the sociology of religion will be accommodated. The following background items of respondents will be reported and their effects concerning social and political issues, theology and reactions to work will be analyzed:

A. Age of respondents at the time of thinking about entering the clergy, decision to enter the clergy and actually entering.

B. Respondents' most important reason for entering the clergy.

C. Specific religious experience influencing decision to enter clergy.

D. Religious denomination in which the respondent was brought up.

E. Work experience in occupations other than the clergy.

F. The clergy as a "first choice" occupation.

G. Stratification variables:

   1. Father's occupation and educational attainment
   2. Mother's occupation and educational attainment

Age

The recruitment of new members makes age of persons at the time of decision to enter as well as age when entering an occupation an important practical consideration for the continuation of an occupation. Occupations which require long periods of training may make occupational decisions at an early age necessary. Occupations which place maximum age limits for those entering the occupation might also necessitate occupational decisions at an early age. Religious denominations rarely place maximum age restrictions on those entering the clergy and usually are flexible regarding such requirements in the major field of study while in college. The clergy, therefore, has some

Table VI-1

Age and Entering the Clergy Among the Religious Denominations

			At What Age Did you First Begin Thinking About Entering the Clergy?							
	Under 10 yrs.	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 +	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
American Baptist	4.3	15.9	52.2	17.4	2.9	4.3	1.4	1.4	100	(69)
United Methodist	4.4	14.7	57.4	19.1	2.9	1.5	0.0	0.0	100	(68)
Anglican	5.2	13.0	42.9	22.1	10.4	2.6	1.3	2.6	100	(77)
United Church of Christ	3.3	10.0	56.7	26.7	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	(60)
Roman Catholic	2.3	55.8	39.5	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	(43)
Total	4.1	19.2	50.2	18.6	4.4	1.9	0.6	0.9	100	(317)

Chi Square = 67 28 d.f. P < .001

			At What Age Did you Finally Decide to Become a Member of the Clergy?							
	Under 10 yrs.	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 +	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
American Baptist	0.0	0.0	34.8	37.7	15.9	7.2	2.9	1.4	100	(69)
United Methodist	1.5	0.0	39.7	47.1	8.8	2.9	0.0	0.0	100	(68)
Anglican	0.0	2.6	23.4	42.9	18.2	6.5	2.6	3.9	100	(77)
United Church of Christ	0.0	1.7	33.3	46.7	15.0	1.7	1.7	0.0	100	(60)
Roman Catholic	0.0	20.9	32.6	34.9	11.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	(43)
Total	0.3	3.8	32.5	42.3	14.2	4.1	1.6	1.3	100	(317)

Chi Square = 66 28 d.f. P < .001

Table VI-1

(continued)

	At What Age Did you Become a Member of the Clergy?									
	Under 15 yrs.	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45 +	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
American Baptist	1.5	0.0	3.0	32.8	46.3	10.4	3.0	3.0	100%	(67)
United Methodist	0.0	0.0	6.1	65.2	21.2	4.5	3.0	0.0	100%	(66)
Anglican	0.0	0.0	1.4	20.3	51.4	17.6	6.8	2.7	100%	(74)
United Church of Christ	0.0	0.0	7.1	39.3	50.0	1.8	0.0	1.8	100%	(56)
Roman Catholic	0.0	2.4	9.8	29.3	56.1	2.4	0.0	0.0	100%	(43)
Total	0.3	0.3	4.9	37.5	44.1	8.2	3.0	1.6	100	(304)

Chi Square = 69 28 d.f. $P < .001$

flexibility concerning age in the recruitment of new members.

Fichter's study[1] of Notre Dame seminarians showed that most began to think about entering the clergy around ten years of age. The average age for firm commitment was seventeen. Table VI-1 shows that the median age when Roman Catholic pastors began thinking about entering the clergy was approximately age fifteen. The median age for the entire sample was slightly under twenty. Anglican pastors began thinking about entering the clergy at a later age than the other denominations. Also, for age at firm decision and actually entering the clergy, Roman Catholic pastors were the youngest and Anglican the oldest. For all denominations, pastors typically made their final decision to enter the clergy at a little more than twenty and entered the clergy between twenty-five and thirty years of age.

None of the three age items concerning occupational choice were related in a statistically significant manner to social and political issues, theology or work.

Respondents Most Important Reason for Entering the Clergy

The alternatives for the item asking respondents the most important reason for entering the clergy were similar to Fichter's study of Notre Dame University seminarians.

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[1] J. H. Fichter, S.J., Religion as an Occupation (University of Notre Dame Press, 1961).

For the "other" alternative a number of respondents wrote to the effect that they felt a Divine call (almost all were American Baptist) or as theologians from liberal denominations expressed it, "a sense of a calling." These responses were coded into a separate category labeled "a calling." Almost all the other respondents who did not place themselves in a separate category checked more than one alternative as the most important reason and were coded as "other."

As the lambda value of .15 and the two asymmetrical relationships indicate, religious denomination and reason for entering the clergy somewhat predict each other. As expected, theologically and politically conservative denominations were the most likely to give some aspect of salvation as the reason for entering the clergy and liberal denominations were the most influenced by a chance to do good in life. The large number of liberal denomination pastors who selected "attraction to the work of clergy" was unanticipated. However when analyzing occupational inheritance a reasonable explanation becomes apparent. These respondents usually were sons of clergymen who had knowledge of the occupation and consequently attracted by the way of life of clergymen.

Reason for entering the clergy did not predict anything about work. Reason for entering the clergy was, however, related to theology and social and political

Table VI-2

Religious Denomination and the Most Important Reason for Entering the Clergy

	Attraction to clergy work	Concern for salvation	Love of God	Do good in life	A calling	Others	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
American Baptist	11.6	20.2	18.8	2.9	37.7	8.7	100	(69)
United Methodist	34.8	5.7	11.6	26.1	8.7	13.0	100	(69)
Anglican	31.3	12.4	20.0	20.0	7.5	8.7	100	(80)
United Church of Christ	25.4	3.5	14.0	42.1	3.5	10.5	100	(57)
Roman Catholic	16.3	27.9	34.9	9.3	0.0	11.6	100	(43)
Total	24.8	13.2	18.9	20.1	12.6	10.4	100	(318)

Chi Square = 118 28 d.f. $P < .001$

issues (gamma = .46 and .63 respectively). Most of those who entered the clergy because of attraction to the type of work clergy do or to do good in life were liberal in theology and social and political issues. Those who entered because of concern for salvation were usually theologically and politically conservative.

Specific Religious Experience Influencing Decision to Enter the Clergy

Table VI-3 shows that about 60 per cent of respondents report being influenced to enter the clergy by a specific religious experience and 40 per cent of the sample they definitely had such an experience. Roman Catholic pastors were the least likely to report such a religious experience while American Baptist pastors were the most likely. Anglican pastors reported the fewest instances of religious experiences of any of the Protestant denominations. Seemingly, a specific religious experience which leads the recipient to a course of action is more a part of the Protestant than Roman Catholic culture.

Respondents who were influenced in entering the clergy by a specific religious experience were more conservative in theology (gamma = .41) and social and political issues (gamma = .28) than those who were not so influenced. When considering only Protestant clergy the gamma values increase to .33 and .47 respectively.

Table VI-3

Religious Denomination and Influence of a Specific Religious Experience in Joining the Clergy

	Did you have a Specific Religious Experience Which Influenced your Entering the Clergy?					
	Definitely yes	Probably yes	Probably not	Definitely not	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%	%	%	
American Baptist	76.8	13.0	10.0	0.0	100	(69)
United Methodist	41.2	19.1	27.9	11.8	100	(68)
Anglican	29.1	24.1	30.4	16.5	100	(79)
United Church of Christ	38.3	20.0	18.3	23.3	100	(60)
Roman Catholic	9.3	18.6	32.6	39.5	100	(43)
Total	41.1	19.1	23.5	16.3	100	(319)

Chi Square = 75 12 d.f. $P < .001$

Religious Denomination in Which the Respondent was Raised

The primary theoretical legitimation for asking respondents the religious faith in which they were raised is extrapolated from speculations as to the effects of mobility for behavior. Becoming a member of the clergy for a faith other than the one in which the respondent was reared constitutes a type of mobility. A practical consideration involves recruitment of clergy practices. For example should a religious denomination give any weight to the prospective clergyman's previous religious faith? Table VI-4 reveals that 59 per cent of the pastors were reared in the denomination they now work. Roman Catholic pastors were the most likely to be raised in the same denomination and United Church of Christ pastors the least likely. Only one Roman Catholic pastor was raised a Protestant and five Protestant pastors were raised in the Roman Catholic faith. Four per cent of the sample reported being raised in no religious faith; none of those so reporting were Roman Catholic pastors. The religious faith in which respondents were raised compared with present faith made no statistically significant difference for social and political issues, theology or work.

Table VI-4

Present Religious Denomination of Clergy and Religious Denomination in Which the Respondent was Brought Up

		Religious Denomination in Which the Respondent was Raised				
	Same as present %	Roman Catholic %	Protestant %	None %	Total %	Total Number
American Baptist	53.0	4.5	34.8	7.6	100	(66)
United Methodist	67.2	1.5	25.4	6.0	100	(67)
Anglican	50.0	2.6	43.6	3.8	100	(78)
United Church of Christ	43.1	0.0	55.2	1.7	100	(58)
Roman Catholic	97.6	---	2.4	0.0	100	(41)
Total	59.4	1.9	34.5	4.2	100	(310)

Chi Square = 49   16 d.f. $P < .001$

Work Experience Prior to Entering the Clergy

Although offering no supporting data, Gustafson[2] has observed a trend of increasing numbers of men who have established themselves in other occupations becoming clergymen. A large percentage have purportedly established themselves in high socioeconomic status occupations. Gustafson maintains that the Protestant Episcopal Church seems to draw more of these occupationally established men than other churches.

Respondents of this study were asked to list the jobs they held for over six months duration before entering the clergy. The objective of this question was to determine the number of clergy who had established themselves in other occupations before entering the clergy. In retrospect, the question probably should have made explicit that part time or temporary work while attending school was not the type of information desired. When respondents listed more than one job, the response was coded as the occupational category which the census bureau gave the highest socioeconomic status ranking. To illustrate, if a respondent reported that he had been a sales clerk and a lawyer, the response was coded as "professional" to reflect the law occupation.

Sixty per cent of this sample had experience in occupations other than the clergy. The modal occupational category where pastors had worked was "clerical and sales" with 30 per cent. Almost 10 per cent had been members of a profession other than the clergy. Gustafson's observation that the Episcopalian church recruits more of those with work experience prior to joining the clergy, especially high socioeconomic status occupations, receives at best weak support in this study. American Baptist pastors were slightly more likely to have worked in occupations other than the clergy than were Anglican pastors. However in the higher status occupations Anglican pastors had a little higher percentage than the other denominations. Roman Catholic pastors had the least amount of work experience outside the clergy and most of those who had worked did so in unskilled occupations.

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[2] J. M. Gustafson, "The Clergy in the United States," in K. S. Lynn, editor, The Professions in America (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965), 70-90.

For the entire sample there were no statistically significant associations of work experience with social and political issues, theology and work. For Protestant respondents, however, those who had not worked before joining were slightly more liberal on social and political issues (gamma = .23) and theology (gamma = .21) than those who had worked.

Table VI-5

Religious Denomination and Work Experience Before Entering the Clergy

	None %	Profes-sional %	Managerial and business ownership %	Farm %	Clerical and sales %	Skilled trades %	Unskilled %	Total %	Total Number
American Baptist	25.0	11.8	4.4	1.5	35.3	8.8	13.2	100	(68)
United Methodist	38.5	7.7	1.5	1.5	30.8	7.7	13.8	100	(65)
Anglican	34.2	11.4	7.6	2.5	39.2	3.8	2.5	100	(79)
United Church of Christ	44.8	12.1	5.1	3.4	29.3	1.7	5.2	100	(58)
Roman Catholic	74.3	2.9	0.0	0.0	2.9	2.9	17.1	100	(35)
Total	39.7	9.8	4.3	2.0	30.5	5.2	9.5	100	(315)

Chi Square = 52 28 d.f. $P < .01$

The Clergy as a First or Second Choice Occupation

The expectation that a noteworthy number of the clergy would indicate that the clergy was not their "first choice occupation" stems largely from Gustafson's observation that the number of seminarians who are vocationally uncertain has progressively increased. Gustafson offers no data to support his statement. This vocational uncertainty might be reflected in respondents indicating that the clergy was not their first choice occupation.

This study sought to distinguish between occupational preference at time of joining the clergy and the present. One item asked what occupation the respondent would have chosen at the time he joined the clergy assuming that he could have gone into any occupation. This item encountered some confusion among respondents. One pastor got this erroneous impression: "You seem to imply that we are clergymen because we were unfit for anything else." Four respondents wrote they thought the question was asking what occupation would they have chosen if they could not have been clergymen. Perhaps more pastors were confused about the item than the number which explicitly indicated their confusion. The other item asked respondents what occupation they would choose if they were now at a time in life to make a choice. No confusion was reported for this item.

Table VI-6 indicates that 39 per cent of the sample felt that the clergy was their first choice occupation when they joined the clergy. Almost all of those who preferred an occupation other than the clergy expressed a preference for another profession, teaching, medicine and law the most frequent.

Table VI-6 suggests that if Table VI-7 is an accurate indication of occupational preferences when respondents joined the clergy, the clergy has gained in the esteem of pastors since joining the clergy. Sixty-three per cent of the sample say that if they were now making an occupational choice they would choose the clergy as contrasted with 39 per cent when joining the clergy. As the case when entering the clergy, those who would enter an occupation other than the clergy are most likely to choose another profession.

Few trends are discernible among the denominations pertaining to occupational choices. The clergy as a first choice occupation is greatest for United Methodist pastors for the time of joining the clergy and the present. With the exception of one Anglican respondent, all the preferences for a skilled trade occupation were given by American Baptist.

Lipset and Schwartz[3] hypothesized that those who enter a second choice occupation are more likely to show a higher degree of discontent than those who have reached

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[3] S. M. Lipset and M. A. Schwartz, "The Politics of Professionals," in H. M. Vollmer and D. L. Mills, editors, Professionalization (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), pp. 299-309.

Table VI-6

Religious Denomination and Occupational Preference at Time of Joining the Clergy

	Clergy %	Medicine %	Law %	Education %	Social work %	Other prof. %	Business %	Other %	Total %	Total Number
American Baptist	28.1	9.4	10.9	17.2	3.1	14.1	3.1	14.1	100	(64)
United Methodist	44.9	5.8	4.3	18.8	0.0	18.8	4.3	2.9	100	(69)
Anglican	43.0	13.9	6.3	11.4	5.1	15.2	1.3	2.5	100	(79)
United Church of Christ	35.6	20.3	6.8	18.6	3.4	15.3	0.0	0.0	100	(59)
Roman Catholic	43.6	28.2	5.1	10.3	0.0	5.1	0.0	2.6	100	(39)
Total	39.0	14.2	6.8	15.5	2.6	14.5	2.6	4.8	100	(310)

Chi Square = 59 32 d.f. $P < .05$

Table VI-7

Religious Denomination and Present Occupational Preference

	Clergy %	Medicine %	Law %	Education %	Social work %	Other prof. %	Business %	Other %	Total %	Total Number
American Baptist	60.0	10.8	6.2	7.7	3.1	3.1	1.5	7.7	100	(64)
United Methodist	69.1	7.4	0.0	16.2	1.5	5.9	0.0	0.0	100	(68)
Anglican	66.2	8.1	1.4	6.8	2.7	14.9	0.0	0.0	100	(74)
United Church of Christ	61.4	7.0	1.8	10.5	3.5	14.0	1.8	0.0	100	(57)
Roman Catholic	51.3	17.9	5.1	10.3	0.0	5.1	7.7	2.6	100	(39)
Total	62.7	9.6	2.6	10.2	2.3	8.9	1.7	2.0	100	(303)

Chi Square = 62 32 d.f. $P < .01$

their original aspiration, and this is revealed in a propensity to back political parties advocating changes in the social system. Lipset and Schwartz lament that data which tests this hypothesis is sparse since most occupational studies do not focus simultaneously on career choice and political orientation.

This study affords weak support for the Lipset and Schwartz hypothesis. Table VI-8 indicates that there is no overall statistically significant relationship between occupational choice when joining the clergy and liberalism-conservatism. However those who preferred to have been teachers were more liberal than those indicating that the clergy was their first choice occupation. Table VI-9 shows that those who would presently go into an occupation other than the clergy are slightly more liberal on social and political issues than those who would still choose the clergy (gamma = .16). Respondents who would go into teaching or "other professions" are the most liberal of all occupational choices. When Roman Catholic pastors are excluded from analysis, the gamma value for the relationship between occupational choice and liberalism-conservatism slightly increases but remains weak.

Occupational choice did not predict attitudes and reactions of pastors toward their work. Those who would presently prefer an occupation other than the clergy are slightly more liberal theologically than those who would stay in the clergy (gamma = .11).

Table VI-8

Occupational Preference at the Time of Joining the Clergy and Liberalism-Conservatism

	All liberal	Liberal	Mixed	Conser-vative	All conser-vative	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Clergy	20.7	24.8	31.4	17.4	5.8	100	(121)
Medicine	29.5	15.9	43.2	11.4	0.0	100	(44)
Law	19.0	9.5	66.7	4.8	0.0	100	(21)
Education	33.3	16.7	37.5	10.4	2.1	100	(48)
Social Work	25.0	25.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	100	(8)
Other Professions	20.0	20.0	40.0	11.1	8.9	100	(45)
Business	12.5	0.0	50.0	25.0	12.5	100	(8)
Other	0.0	16.7	55.6	23.1	23.1	100	(15)
						100	(310)

Gamma is not significant   Lambda - A&B = 0.0

Table VI-9

Present Occupational Preference and Liberalism-Conservatism

	All liberal %	Liberal %	Mixed %	Conser- vative %	All conser- vative %	Total %	Total Number
Clergy	20.5	20.5	34.7	16.8	7.4	100	(190)
Medicine	17.2	20.7	55.2	6.9	0.0	100	(29)
Law	0.0	12.5	87.5	0.0	0.0	100	(8)
Education	41.9	9.7	35.5	9.7	3.2	100	(31)
Social Work	28.6	0.0	71.4	0.0	0.0	100	(7)
Other Professions	33.3	25.9	29.6	11.1	0.0	100	(27)
Business	0.0	40.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	100	(5)
Other	0.0	0.0	66.6	16.7	16.7	100	(6)
						100	(303)

Gamma = .16 Z = .94 One tail test $P < .20$

Chi Square = 44 28 d.f. $P < .05$

Socioeconomic Status of the Pastor's Family of Origin

Research pertaining to the family socioeconomic stratum of those entering given occupations subsumes the two interrelated areas of occupational inheritance and mobility. Some general conclusions of mobility studies suggest that those whose fathers were members of occupations generally labeled as professions, were the most likely to "inherit" their fathers' occupation. Also sons of professional fathers are over represented in professions other than their fathers' profession and in managerial, executive occupations.

Some characteristics of the clergy coupled with a lack of a clear trend in research findings have established a state of little knowledge regarding occupational inheritance and mobility among clergy. The vow of celibacy for Roman Catholic clergy precludes chances of occupational inheritance for a large element of the clergy. Since the clergy are a small percentage of the labor force, studies utilizing a cross section of occupations garner a small number of clergy in a study sample. The clergy usually are placed in one of the gross occupational categories such as "professional" in the analysis of data.

Studies conducted by Lenski[4] and Fichter[5] displayed different conclusions regarding the social origins of clergy.

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[4] Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1961).

[5] Fichter, *op. cit.*

Lenski's study included samples of Protestant and Catholic clergy of the Detroit, Michigan area. Protestant clergy came from higher status origins than the members of the Protestant laity which comprised another part of the study. For Roman Catholic clergy Lenski found that they corresponded closely to the Roman Catholic laity with regards to social status origin.

Reporting data compiled from a study of major seminarians at Notre Dame University, Fichter found skilled and unskilled laborers' families accounted for 29 per cent of the seminarians while other data showed that these occupational groups represented 54 per cent of the lay Roman Catholic population. Making comparisons more difficult was the different manner in which Lenski and Fichter categorized their data. Lenski employed the categories of "middle class," "working class" and "farm" while Fichter used the occupational groupings devised by Alba Edwards.

Interpretations of mobility findings are possibly complicated when respondents exhibit a wide age range. Since the United States occupational structure has shifted in the "white collar direction," similar occupational shifts of respondents from fathers' occupation at different times may not indicate comparable mobility.[6] Movement from a fathers' occupation of unskilled labor to a clerical occupation suggests less mobility in 1950 than in 1900 since a larger portion of the work force in 1950 was clerical than in 1900. The majority of respondents in this study were between forty and sixty years of age. Although twenty years is not a large age spread, a note of caution perhaps is warranted in interpreting intergenerational occupational mobility findings of this research.

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[6] For example see Natalie Rogoff, Recent Trends in Occupational Mobility (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953).

As Table VI-10 shows, clergy tend to come from "white collar families" in this sample. Only 6.9 per cent reported their fathers' occupation as unskilled laborer. Professional occupations were over represented in comparison with the total U. S. work force; almost one-fourth of this sample came from professional families. Fathers of Roman Catholic pastors generally were of lower socioeconomic status occupations than Protestant pastors' fathers. Part of the lower status origin of Roman Catholic pastors compared with Protestant pastors is attributable to no Roman Catholic having a clergyman father; 12 per cent of the Protestant clergy were sons of clergymen. American Baptist pastors generally came from lower status origin than the other Protestant denominations. With the exception of Anglican pastors each denomination had a considerable number of pastors from farm backgrounds; 14 per cent of the sample were of farm origin.

Table VI-11 illustrates the rising educational attainment level in the United States. Recalling that almost all

Table VI-10

Religious Denomination and Fathers Occupation

	Occupational Category of Father								
	Clergy %	Profes-sional %	Busi-ness and managerial %	Farm %	Sales and clerical %	Skill craft %	Un-skill-ed %	Total %	Total Number
American Baptist	4.6	3.1	23.1	18.5	24.6	21.5	4.6	100	(65)
United Methodist	15.6	13.8	9.2	13.8	27.7	18.5	9.2	100	(66)
Anglican	7.9	14.5	14.8	3.9	32.9	17.1	7.9	100	(76)
United Church of Christ	16.3	22.0	11.9	15.3	18.6	13.6	1.7	100	(60)
Roman Catholic	0.0	5.0	18.0	27.5	17.5	22.5	12.5	100	(40)
Total	10.4	12.1	14.7	14.4	23.6	23.6	6.9	100	(307)

Chi Square = 54 32 d.f. $P < .01$

of the respondents had completed high school and most were educated on the college level, one third of the fathers of respondents had only an elementary education and one-third had received at least some college education. However, considering the educational attainment level at the time the respondents' fathers were educated, the clergy generally are sons of well educated fathers. As was the case with fathers' occupation, Roman Catholic and American Baptist pastors' fathers educational attainment levels were lower than the other denominations.

The traditional techniques in stratification research which do not consider attributes of the mother such as occupation and education have been questioned.[7] The mother may often be at least as important in determining the style of life of a family as the father. Warner's[8] study of big business executives who were of humble origin revealed that these executives frequently listed their mothers' influence as the most important factor in their high occupational aspiration level. Studies of clergymen[9] have depicted the

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[7] W. B. Watson and E. A. T. Barth, "Questionable Assumptions in the Theory of Social Stratification," Pacific Sociological Review, 7 (Spring, 1964), 10-16.

[8] W. Lloyd Warner and James Abegglen, Occupational Mobility in American Business and Industry (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955).

[9] Fichter, op. cit., and P. J. Allen, "Childhood Backgrounds of Success in a Profession," American Sociological Review, 20 (April, 1955), 186-191.

Table VI-11

Religious Denomination and Fathers' Educational Attainment Level

	Elementary school %	Some high school %	High school %	Some college %	College graduate %	Graduate work %	Graduate degree %	Total %	Total Number
American Baptist	44.9	23.2	14.5	4.3	1.4	0.0	2.9	100	(69)
United Methodist	26.5	16.2	19.1	13.2	4.4	7.4	13.2	100	(68)
Anglican	28.8	7.5	23.8	12.5	7.5	5.0	15.0	100	(80)
United Church of Christ	30.0	10.0	15.0	13.3	3.3	6.7	21.7	100	(60)
Roman Catholic	41.9	23.3	9.3	14.0	9.3	0.0	2.3	100	(43)
Total	33.7	15.3	17.2	11.2	6.6	4.4	11.6	100	(320)

Chi Square - 50 28 d.f. $P < .05$

importance of the mother in their selecting the clergy as a vocation.

The occupational and educational attainment levels of pastors' mothers generally followed the trends of fathers pertaining to differences among denominations. The majority of the mothers (66%) did not work outside the home. The most frequent occupations for working mothers were professional (14%), sales and clerical (17%). While fewer mothers than fathers had only an elementary education, fewer mothers attended college than fathers. Mothers' educational attainment level was typically high school.

An analysis of relationships of family socioeconomic status of pastors to social and political issues brings into larger focus occupational mobility. In the United States occupationally mobile persons tend to be more politically conservative than those in the occupational level which has been achieved. In Europe the occupationally mobile are more politically left than those of the occupational level just achieved. Scholars such as Lipset[10] speculate that a form of status frustration which is more prevalent in Europe than in the United States inhibits the European occupationally mobile person from becoming as politically conservative as those of his new occupation.

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[10] S. M. Lipset and Hans Zetterberg, "A Theory of Social Mobility," in Lewis Coser and Bernard Rosenberg, editors, Sociological Theory (2nd ed.: New York: The MacMillan Company, 1964), p. 456.

Table VI-12

Religious Denomination and Mothers' Educational Attainment Level

	Elementary school %	Some high school %	High school %	Some college %	College graduate %	Graduate work %	Graduate degree %	Total %	Total Number
American Baptist	30.4	26.1	29.0	8.7	4.3	0.0	1.4	100	(69)
United Methodist	22.4	19.4	20.9	10.4	16.4	6.0	4.5	100	(67)
Anglican	13.7	16.2	33.7	23.8	6.2	2.5	3.7	100	(80)
United Church of Christ	33.3	6.7	25.0	20.0	8.3	1.7	5.0	100	(60)
Roman Catholic	44.2	18.6	20.9	9.3	4.7	0.0	2.3	100	(43)
Total	27.0	17.6	26.6	15.0	8.2	2.2	3.5	100	(319)

Chi Square = 49 28 d.f. $P < .01$

Family origin is often an important status consideration in Europe. Those who achieve occupational success may not be accepted as complete equals by their new colleagues. Occupationally mobile persons in the United States often will take pride in their humble origin and brag about "how far I have come."

Lipset's speculations leave unexplained why occupationally mobile persons in the United States are more politically conservative than those of their new occupation. If the occupationally mobile individual is attempting to conform to his new colleagues' politics, he should be equally conservative instead of more conservative.

Lapreato[11] has attempted to construct a theoretical system which will explain the "over" political conservatism of the occupationally mobile in the United States. The extreme emphasis on success combined with individual responsibility for nonsuccess makes the fear of failure a constant threat, thus the experience of success is likely to afford the achiever satisfaction and relief. The achiever has a deep gratitude toward the social order for making his satisfaction possible. Such gratitude is expressed in an "overconformity" by disproportionately supporting the political positions which especially endorse the existing social order.

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[11] Joseph Lopreato, "Upward Social Mobility and Political Orientation," American Sociological Review, 32 (August, 1967), 586-592.

An extrapolation of Lapreato's theory suggests that the greater the "distance" of the occupational mobility the greater the gratitude to the social system. Longer distance mobility should be associated with greater political conservatism than shorter distance mobility. This study generally supports the extrapolation. Table VI-13 shows that those who "inherited" their occupation, i.e., sons of clergymen, were the most liberal on social and political issues. Sons of unskilled laborers and skilled craftsmen were the least liberal. If the order in which the fathers' occupational category is listed in Table VI-13 is assumed to represent the relative mobility distance, then the gamma value for the relationship between intergenerational occupational mobility and liberalism-conservatism is .29. To illustrate, professions other than the clergy is listed in the table next to the clergy as representing less mobility than the other occupations except clergy which is "occupational inheritance." Unskilled laborer is coded as the greatest amount of occupational mobility.

The small sample size and response patterns prohibit a meaningful analysis to determine if denomination could explain away the relationship between mobility and liberalism-conservatism. It is perhaps slightly suggestive that sons of clergymen were more liberal on social and political issues in the United Methodists and United Church of Christ denominations than the other pastor. These are

Table VI-13

Intergenerational Occupational Mobility and Liberalism-Conservatism

	All liberal	Liberal	Mixed	Conservative	All conservative	Total	Total Number
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Clergy	40.0	33.3	23.3	0.0	3.3	100	(32)
Professional	19.1	27.0	45.9	8.1	0.0	100	(38)
Business and Managerial	24.9	19.1	31.2	16.7	6.7	100	(45)
Clerical and Sales	25.0	18.1	43.1	8.3	5.6	100	(72)
Farmer	25.0	9.1	45.5	15.9	4.5	100	(44)
Skilled Craft	10.7	21.4	28.6	26.8	12.5	100	(56)
Semi-skilled and Unskilled	14.3	19.0	47.6	14.3	4.8	100	(21)
						100	(307)

Gamma = .29 Z = 1.74 One tail test $P < .05$

Chi Square = 45 28 d.f. $P < .01$

the most liberal denominations and their clergy were of high status origin.

The clergy probably represents a special case which departs from Lapreato's theoretical explanation. Clergymen, occupationally mobile or not, are not likely to think of the clergy as an occupational attainment for which they should be grateful to the existing social order. Clergymen who come from intellectual backgrounds are stimulated by humanistic ideals at an early age. Sons of clergymen would be especially exposed to this type of intellectual stimulation. This humanistic idealism is later translated into liberalism on social and political issues.

As expected from my speculation and Lapreato's theory sons from better educated fathers are more liberal on social and political issues (gamma = .22) and theology (gamma = .19). Fathers' educational attainment level did not predict respondents attitudes and reactions toward their work.

Mothers' occupation did not predict respondents' positions on social and political issues, theology or work. Perhaps this lack of relationships is partly due to dissimilar reasons for mothers not working outside the home. Did the mother not work because of lack of skill and/or employment opportunities? The mother may not have worked because the financial level of the family was such that the additional income was not crucial.

Mothers' educational attainment level did weakly predict liberalism on social and political issues (gamma = .16) but was not related in a statistically significant manner to theology and work.

Change in Political Orientation Since Joining the Clergy

Respondents reporting that their political orientation became more liberal since joining the clergy generally is related in a similar fashion to the items of this chapter which were associated with liberalism on social and political issues. As opposite to the case in the chapter on work, using change in political orientation instead of present liberalism-conservatism tended to weaken the relationships. Since ordinal coding is not possible for some items, the parsimonious reporting of a gamma value is not always possible.

Respondents who would presently go into one of the other professions instead of the clergy increased in liberalism more than those who would still choose the clergy.

Those listing "attraction to the type of work the clergy perform" or "a chance to do good in life" as the most important reason for entering the clergy were more likely to become more liberal than those listing other reasons.

Those who were not influenced to enter the clergy by a specific religious experience became more liberal than those who were influenced (gamma = .22).

Sons of clergymen were the most likely to have become more liberal since joining the clergy and sons of unskilled laborers the least. Since the other categories of fathers' occupations did not show a consistent trend, no statistically significant relationship (gamma) emerged.

Respondents whose fathers had done graduate work experience a greater increase in liberalism than the rest of the sample. The gamma value for the relationship, however, is not statistically significant.

The gamma value for the relationship of change in political orientation to educational attainment level of mother was not statistically significant.

Conclusion

None of the items in this chapter pertaining to respondents entering the clergy were related to pastors' attitudes and reactions toward their work. The clergy probably has more flexibility in recruitment practices than most professions. To illustrate, these data suggest no reason why recruitment into the clergy of those at a relatively advanced age, e.g. over 40, would produce a generation of malcontents in the pulpit.

The following items were not related to theology or social and political issues: (1) age at first thinking about entering the clergy, final decision and actually entering the clergy, (2) employment experience before joining the clergy and (3) religious denomination in which the respondent was raised compared with his present faith. There were some differences for these items, however, among the denominations. Roman Catholic pastors began thinking about entering the clergy, made their final decision and actually entered the clergy at the earliest age and Anglicans were the oldest. Roman Catholic pastors had less work experience and their work experience was in occupations of lower socioeconomic status than their Protestant colleagues. All Roman Catholic pastors were raised in the Roman Catholic faith. Most Protestants were either raised in the denomination in which they work or another Protestant denomination. Only a few Protestant clergy were not raised in any religious faith. Protestant clergy were more likely to be influenced in their decision to enter the clergy by a specific religious experience than were Roman Catholic clergy.

Clergy who would presently choose an occupation other than the clergy were more liberal on social and political issues as well as theology than those who would still choose the clergy. Rather unanticipated on my part, Roman Catholic pastors had as large a percentage as any denomination for which the clergy was not a first choice occupation.

Respondents who listed "attraction to the type of work clergy perform" or "a chance to do good in life" as the most important reason for entering the clergy were theologically and politically the most liberal. Those who listed some aspect of salvation as the most important reason for entering the clergy were the most conservative politically and theologically.

Intergenerational occupational mobility was negatively correlated with liberalism in theology and social and political issues. Sons of clergymen were the most liberal and sons of craftsmen and unskilled laborers were the most conservative. Educational attainment levels of respondents father and mother were positively associated with liberalism on social and political issues and fathers' occupational attainment level was positively associated with theological liberalism. Roman Catholic pastors came from families of lower socioeconomic status level than Protestants and American Baptist pastors came from a lower socioeconomic status than other Protestants.

This study is consistent with expectations of Lapreato's theory that the occupationally mobile in the United States will feel a sense of gratitude to the present social system which will be expressed in conservative politics. I suggest that the clergy and other occupations especially concerned with societal ideals represent a special case which departs from Lapreato's reasoning. Clergy from the most intellectual backgrounds are the most likely to develop humanistic concerns which will be expressed in political and theological liberalism.

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CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This final chapter includes: (1) a summary of findings, (2) some limitations of these research findings, and (3) some implications of this research for the broader scholarly context. Although some of the material presented has been stated implicitly or explicitly earlier in this report, a culmination will be attempted in this chapter. Items discussed will not always fall exclusively within the purview of one of the four subdivisions of this chapter. To illustrate, some of the limitations of these research findings may have relevance for implications of this research for the broader scholarly context.

Findings

Pastors of this sample tend to think of their positions on social and political issues as at least somewhat liberal. An examination of pastors' positions on nine items used in this study suggests that the somewhat liberal self categorization is an apt description. Respondents were the most liberal on issues pertaining to the Negro civil rights movement. The majority of respondents were liberal on the issues of capital punishment (i.e. opposed to the death penalty), economic policies, civil liberties and the Vietnam war (i.e. felt positive toward the anti-Vietnam war and desired lesser involvement by the U. S. military in Vietnam). The Democratic Party was only slightly preferred to the Republican Party. As a speculation, clergy tend to come from families of higher socio-economic status. The Republican Party identification may have been "inherited." While positions on issues may have changed, the clergyman continues to feel an identification with the Republican Party, at least nominally.

Combining positions on social and political issues into an index of liberalism-conservatism, respondents are divided in the following manner.

1. Twenty-two per cent of respondents are "all liberal" (call themselves liberal and give liberal responses to all nine items).

2. Nineteen per cent are "liberal" (call themselves liberal and give liberal responses to all items except one).

3. Thirty-nine per cent are "mixed" (call themselves middle-of-the-road and/or responses to the items dò not qualify them to be labeled "liberal" or "conservative").

4. Fourteen per cent are "conservative" (call themselves conservative and give conservative responses to all items except one).

5. Six per cent are "all conservative" (call

themselves conservative and give conservative responses for all items).

Fifty-three per cent of the sample reported participating in civil rights and twenty-six per cent in anti-Vietnam war activities. Almost all who had participated in demonstrations had given money to an organization engaged in the movement in which they were participating. Giving money was the only activity of about one-fourth of the civil rights participants and about one-third of anti-Vietnam war participants. The majority of participants in both movements had taken part in demonstrations although demonstrating was more common among civil rights than anti-Vietnam war participants.

Positions on an issue were associated with similar positions (liberal or conservative) on other social and political issues. A correlation matrix among the ten items measuring liberalism-conservatism revealed that all relationships were positive, statistically significant (.05 level) and gamma values ranged from .35 to .87. The mean gamma value was .72.

The index of liberalism-conservatism was a very powerful predictor of civil rights and anti-Vietnam war participation; liberalism was associated with participation. Almost all anti-Vietnam war participants had engaged in civil rights activities; however about one-half of the civil rights participants were not part of the anti-Vietnam war movement.

The next paragraph lists factors which increased the likelihood of the respondent being a liberal on social and political issues and consequently a social protest participant. The absence of these factors increases the likelihood of conservatism and nonparticipation in social protest. When it is not self explanatory the opposite and/or absence will be specified. For example, the logical opposite of the free will position is determinism.

(1) United Methodist and United Church of Christ denominations (Anglican pastors were usually "mixed" while Roman Catholic and American Baptist pastors were generally conservative)

(2) Respondents described their theology as liberal and to a lesser extent neo-orthodox (conservative and fundamentalist theologies were associated with conservatism on social and political issues)

(3) Slightly greater interest in social and political issues than conservatives (respondents were generally interested)

(4) Younger in age

(5) More inclined to feel that persons working as individuals and/or in groups could exert influence on the Vietnam war situation

(6) Took a position of collective responsibility as opposed to self reliance on ethical questions

(7) Took the determinist philosophical position as opposed to free will

(8) Although generally satisfied with their work, slightly more dissatisfied than conservatives

(9) Ascribed a smaller percentage of their life interests being devoted to their work than conservatives

(10) Greater contacts with clergy of different religious faiths and/or races from that of the respondent

(11) Would presently choose an occupation other than the clergy if making an occupational choice

(12) Reason for entering the clergy was attraction to the clergy as a way of life or felt the clergy afforded an opportunity to do good in life (conservatives expressed more concern for salvation)

(13) "Traveled less distance" in terms of intergenerational occupational mobility, for example sons of clergymen were the most liberal and sons of manual workers the most conservative

(14) Father and mother had a higher educational attainment level but clergy generally came from higher than average homes in terms of education

(15) Less likely to have been influenced to enter the clergy by a specific religious experience

(16) Involvement in interfaith occupational communities was slightly associated with social protest participation but not liberalism-conservatism

The factors which were associated social and political issues were usually related to one another in a similar fashion. For example, United Methodist and United Church of Christ pastors were liberal on social and political issues and described their theology as liberal or neo-orthodox while American Baptist and Roman Catholic pastors were more likely to describe theology as conservative or fundamentalist. Some factors which were associated with social and political issues were not related in the expected manner:

(1) Roman Catholic pastors were as likely as other denominations to indicate that they would go into an occupation other than the clergy if presently making an occupational choice,

(2) Roman Catholic pastors were the least likely to be influenced in their decision to enter the clergy by a specific religious experience,

(3) educational attainment level of respondent's mother did not predict theology and

(4) pastors taking a free will philosophical position were not less interested in social and political issues than determinists.

Limitations of Study

The limitations of this research stem largely from the inherent weaknesses of survey research. Survey research allows the reporting of correlations but causation is difficult to substantiate. This research was farther weakened by the small sample size which often prohibited the utilization of controls. The Pearsonian r as a measure of association was not used and thus the possibilities of using simultaneous multi-variable correlation analysis which the r readily affords was not available. I took the conservative approach and did not use r because the interval data assumption of r was not present.

Scholars presently are split as to the relative gains and losses of using the r when the interval data assumptions are not met. Most would presently agree that generalizing to a population from a sample would be extremely hazardous without the interval assumptions. However, this study is admitedly weak in its generalizing potentials. What about using r without interval data when the objective is primarily only to describe relationships? Although the distance between any two points in ordinal data is unknown, wouldn't the expected distance between any point to its nearest ordinal point be the same in the long run? Hopefully scholars in the near future will achieve a greater degree of consensus on these questions.

A common lingering doubt in survey research of whether the respondents were frank in their responses is probably minimized; although I cannot conclusively demonstrate this confidence.

One of the major compensations of survey research is the ability to investigate a large number of variables. The prodigious reporting of relationships among variables indicates the attempt made in this research to fully capitalize on this compensation.

These questions also may be extracted from the theoretical frameworks of Marx and Weber: What societal changes are affected by social movements? To what extent are social movement societal changes similar to what social movement participants intended at the inception of the movement? This research does not attempt answers to these questions; they are, however, crucial and difficult questions to which scientific knowledge is almost nonexistent.

A Dilemma of the Church

Perhaps the strains of the church from clergy emphasizing different ideals are inevitable. Would not the effectiveness of the church be weakened if clergy giving primacy to one of the church concerns be completely excluded? If politically, theologically liberal clergy were excluded or left the church, the effects for society might be undesirable from the standpoint of theologically and politically conservative clergy. The idealism of the social gospel might find expression outside the church to the extent that the influence of the church on this expression is diluted. If social work and/or societal changes are the only purview of the church, would the church be as an effective mechanism for accomplishing these objectives as other organizations? Should these objectives be achieved or not be achieved, what would be the consequences for the church and society?

This research suggests, mostly impressionistically, that the liberal theologians are experiencing the most disappointments within the church. Although their numbers presently are probably very small, liberal clergy are leaving the church and this is a problem which the church will be unable to long ignore (if it is presently ignoring the problem). The church is limited in its attempts to deal with liberals leaving the clergy. Many who join the clergy after being established in other occupations are attracted to the clergy for the same reason that liberals leave the clergy or find the experience frustrating.

The Clergy and Social Change

Does religion and the clergy lead or follow in the process of social change? This research did little probing of the organizational structure of the religion and the effects of religious ideas for the behavior of the laity. Therefore, this research has largely untouched the question of whether religion in the broader sense leads or follows. I feel that the historical evidence suggests that religion usually has followed most of society in social change. This study demonstrates, however, that a noteworthy portion of the clergy, while possibly not the first, are one of the earlier leaders in the struggles for social change.

Certain ideas which individuals endorse may be associated with their joining a social movement but what determines the degree of success the social movement achieves? Does social protest have any effect in bringing about social change? Has the social change in reality been accomplished and the social movement only signals its arrival? This keystone area of sociology is almost devoid of knowledge and sociologists have been notably unable to pose significant researchable questions. This research has been no exception.

Although leaving largely unposed the question of whether ideas bring about a social movement or come into view after the process of social change is under way, Crane Brinton[1] placed the "desertion of intellectuals" in the early phase of the life cycle of revolutions. No regime was ever overthrown by a revolution which had lost support of all intellectuals or perhaps even a majority.

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[1] Crane Brinton, The Anatomy of Revolution (New York: Norton, 1938).

The defection from the old regime by a noticeable number of intellectuals seems, however, to occur in the revolutionary process.

Does this study suggest that the desertion of the intellectual phase of a revolution is at hand? The findings of this study for the just posed question are not conclusive. Participation in the civil rights movement is now not necessarily a break with the present regime. The federal and most state governments "officially" accept most of the goals of the traditional civil rights movement. Participation in anti-Vietnam war activities suggests a fertile area for speculation. I suspect that almost no anti-Vietnam war participant would presently view their activities as deserting the present regime. But what if the Vietnam war drags on? Recalling that almost all anti-Vietnam participants had been active in civil rights struggles suggests that involvement in social protest acts as a "breeding ground" for participation in future social protest. Even if the Vietnam war is shortly terminated the seeds for future protest involvement have been sown.

The possibility of this society entering into the desertion of the intellectual phase of a revolution deserves much more serious scholarly consideration than it is presently receiving. For this society is on the threshold of becoming the first post industrial society[2] but its institutions are still largely built upon the assumption of the inevitable scarcity of material goods.

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[2] Ben B. Seligman, Most Notorious Victory: Man in an Age of Automation (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966).

An interesting complication for the study of social change is whether one phase of the revolutionary cycle invariably leads to the next phase. What would be the effects for intellectuals and society if the desertion of the intellectual phase remained for many years? As the poet Langston Hughes asked, "What happens to a dream deferred?"

Toward a Typology of the Clergy

I hope that this study has made a modest contribution toward establishing a typology of the United States clergy. A typology can serve as a preliminary step in theory construction. The "ultimate" objective is to construct theories from which contrafactual conditional statements about events in our world of experience can be derived. In the formulation of "if then statements" it is essential to know something about the nature of the associations among variables, a function performed by a typology.

A knowledge of the clergy and religious ideas will become even more central for sociologists in the near future. For the intensification of conflict and acceleration of social change now taking place will bring ideology more into focus. The "combatants" in societal conflicts will often be clergy. When clergy are not directly involved in conflict, they will be taking part indirectly due to the ramifications that the societal conflicts will have for the church. If the ideology of social conflict doesn't exactly qualify as religion, it will have a close connection with religious ideas.

REFERENCES

Crane Brinton, The Anatomy of Revolution (New York: Norton, 1938).

Ben B. Seligman, Most Notorious Victory: Man in an Age of Automation (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966).

APPENDIX

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

Department of Sociology
Los Angeles, California 90024

March 1968

Dear Pastor:

I am writing to enlist your help in completing a study of American clergy which is being sponsored by the Department of Sociology of the University of California at Los Angeles. Would you please fill out the enclosed questionnaire. The questionnaire is composed of several pages because a topic so important as the clergy and religion cannot be discussed briefly. When you have finished, would you kindly return the questionnaire in the enclosed envelope.

You are not asked to sign your name, and you can be assured that anything you say will be entirely confidential. Because it would be useful to know when you have completed and mailed back your questionnaire, a number appears on the questionnaire. Nevertheless, if you find the number to be in any way objectionable, please tear it from the questionnaire and mail the completed questionnaire.

I know this is a lot to ask of busy people. As you complete the questionnaire, I think you will agree that it deals with questions of great importance for the clergy and society in general. It is my hope that you will find this an interesting experience.

Your generosity in giving your time and effort is deeply appreciated. My phone number if 866-0906, in case you have any questions or would want to contact me for any reason.

Sincerely,

C. E. Tygart (Signed)

INSTRUCTIONS

The questionnaire is designed to accommodate clergy of different faiths and backgrounds. Thus some questions will not seem to have much application for your situation, but please answer the questions anyway.

Almost all of the questions can be answered by making a check mark with pen or pencil in the blank beside the answer you choose. If no alternative presented for a question exactly states your position please check the alternative which comes the closest to your views. Space is given at the end of the questionnaire for you to express exactly how you feel if you believe a question is unclear or doesn't express your feeling. Comments may also be written in the margins. Your comments or criticisms regarding this questionnaire will be carefully studied.

On opinion items the objective of this study is to investigate the reactions of clergy speaking as individuals, not necessarily the official position of the church.

I hope you will enjoy filling out the questionnaire and thank you for your cooperation.

1. What is your religious affiliation? Please be as exact as possible, for example, "Southern Baptist" instead of "Baptist" or "Roman Catholic" rather than "Catholic."

   ____

2. At what age did you first begin thinking about entering the clergy?____________________

3. At what age did you finally decide to become a member of the clergy?__________________

4. If you could have gone into any occupation at the time you entered the clergy, what occupation would you have chosen?______________________________________

5. If you were now at the time in life when you were to make an occupational choice, what occupation would you choose? This is assuming that it would be possible for you to enter any occupation you would choose.

   ____

   ____

   ____

6. Which of the following was the most important reason for your entering the clergy?
___(1) Attraction to the type of work which the clergy performs
___(2) Surety of personal salvation
___(3) Love of God
___(4) Salvation of others
___(5) A chance to do good in life
___(6) Other (specify)______________________________

7. Did you have a specific religious experience which influenced your entering the clergy?
___(1) Definitely yes
___(2) Probably yes
___(3) Probably not
___(4) Definitely not

8. What was your father's primary occupation? Please be as specific as possible.______________________________

9. What was your father's highest educational attainment?
___(1) Elementary school
___(2) Some high school
___(3) High school graduate
___(4) Some college
___(5) College graduate
___(6) Some graduate work
___(7) Graduate degree
___(8) Other (specify)
____

10. What (if any) was your mother's primary occupation other than a housewife?______________________________

11. What was your mother's highest educational attainment?
___(1) Elementary school
___(2) Some high school
___(3) High school graduate
___(4) Some college
___(5) College graduate
___(6) Some graduate work
___(7) Graduate degree
___(8) Other (specify)
____

12. What was the religious denomination in which you were brought up?______________________________

13. At what age did you become a member of the clergy?____

14. Before entering the clergy, what other jobs, if any, did you hold for over six months duration?
____

15. Generally speaking, how important is your work in your life?
___(1) Work constitutes almost all of my life's interest
___(2) Work constitutes about 75% of my life's interest
___(3) Work constitutes about 50% of my life's interest
___(4) Work constitutes about 25% of my life's interest
___(5) Work constitutes almost none of my life's interest

16. Assuming that you had an adequate income without working would you retire or continue working?
___(1) Continue working
___(2) Retire now

17. Which of these statements best describes how you feel about your work?
___(1) My work is interesting nearly all the time
___(2) While my work is interesting most of the time there are some dull stretches now and then
___(3) There are few times when my work is interesting, most of it is dull and monotonous
___(4) My work is almost completely dull and monotonous

18. How often do you feel that your work gives you a chance to try ideas of your own?
___(1) Almost all of the time ___(3) Some of the time
___(2) Much of the time ___(4) Almost never

19. How much control do you feel that you have over your work?
___(1) A great deal ___(3) A little
___(2) Some ___(4) Almost none

20. Generally, how satisfied are you with your present work?
___(1) Very satisfied ___(3) Somewhat dissatisfied
___(2) Somewhat satisfied ___(4) Very dissatisfied

21. Of your five closest friends, how many are members of the clergy of another faith?
___(1) None ___(4) Three
___(2) One ___(5) Four
___(3) Two ___(6) All of them

22. Of your five closest friends, how many are clergy of your faith?
___(1) None ___(4) Three
___(2) One ___(5) Four
___(2) Two ___(6) All of them

23. About how often do you meet socially clergy of your own faith in such activities as, for example, visiting in the home, and attending together sporting events, concerts or movies?
___(1) Almost never
___(2) Two or three times a year
___(3) About once a month
___(4) Three or four times a month
___(5) At least two or three times a week

24. About how often do you meet socially clergy of a faith other than your own in activities like visiting in the home, sporting events, concerts or movies?
___(1) Almost never
___(2) Two or three times a year
___(3) About once a month
___(4) Three or four times a month
___(5) At least two or three times a week

25. During the last month how many conversations did you have with Jewish Rabbis?
___(1) None
___(2) One
___(3) Two
___(4) About once a week
___(5) More than once a week

26. During the last month about how many conversations did you have with clergy of another racial group?
___(1) None
___(2) One
___(3) Two
___(4) About once a week
___(5) More than once a week
Please specify which racial group____________________________

27. During the last month about how many conversations did you have with clergy of the other major Christian group (Roman Catholic or Protestant)?
___(1) None
___(2) One
___(3) Two
___(4) About once a week
___(5) More than once a week

28. Recently some clergymen have been attempting to organize the clergy into organizations similar to labor unions or professional organizations such as exist in the medical and legal professions. What is your position on this subject?
___(1) Favor a labor union for the clergy
___(2) Favor a professional organization for the clergy
___(3) Present organizations are sufficient and appropriate

29. Aside from church service, about how often do you pray privately?
___(1) Almost never
___(2) About once a month
___(3) About 2 or 3 times a week
___(4) About once a week
___(5) Daily
___(6) Several times a day

30. Which of the following comes closest to what you believe about God?
___(1) I know God really exists and I have no doubts about it
___(2) While I have doubts, I do believe in God
___(3) I find myself believing in God some of the time, but not at other times
___(4) I don't believe in God as such, but I do believe in a higher power
___(5) I don't believe in God

31. Which of the following statements comes closest to what you believe about Jesus?
___(1) Jesus is the Divine Son of God and I have no doubts about it
___(2) While I have some doubts, I believe basically Jesus is Divine
___(3) I feel that Jesus was a great and holy man, but I don't believe him to be the Son of God, any more than all of us are children of God
___(4) I am not entirely sure there was such a person as Jesus

32. Do you believe in life after death?
___(1) Definitely
___(2) Probably
___(3) Probably not
___(4) Definitely not

33. Do you believe that there is a life after death in which some will be punished?
___(1) Definitely
___(2) Probably
___(3) Probably not
___(4) Definitely not

34. Generally, when individuals commit criminal acts, about how much of this behavior do you feel is due to conditions of society and what part results from individual acts of free will?
___(1) Almost entirely due to individual free will
___(2) About 75% due to individual free will
___(3) About 50% due to free will and 50% due to conditions of society
___(4) About 75% results from conditions of society
___(5) Almost all of the acts are results of the conditions of society

35. When an individual is released from a California penal institution after serving a sentence, do you think that the individual will:
__(1) Very likely commit crimes
__(2) Probably commit crimes
__(3) Have an equal probability to commit crimes
__(4) Probably will not continue to commit crimes
__(5) Very unlikely continue to commit crimes

36. Which of the following best describes your position on capital punishment?
___(1) The death penalty is the proper punishment for certain acts, whether or not it serves to deter others from committing similar acts
___(2) The death penalty is necessary for certain acts because it acts as a deterrent to others
___(3) The death penalty should be abolished because it does not deter others
___(4) The death penalty is wrong and should not be used

37. How interested are you in social and political issues?
___(1) Very interested
___(2) Somewhat interested
___(3) Somewhat uninterested
___(4) Not at all interested

38. How do you feel, in general, about the civil rights movement?
___(1) Very positive
___(2) Somewhat positive
___(3) Indifferent
___(4) Somewhat negative
___(5) Very negative

39. How do you feel, in general about anti-Vietnam war activities?
___(1) Very positive
___(2) Somewhat positive
___(3) Indifferent
___(4) Somewhat negative
___(5) Very negative

40. How great a danger would you consider the American Communist Party to the United States at the present time?
___(1) A great danger
___(2) Some danger
___(3) Hardly any danger
___(4) No danger

41. How great a danger do you consider the John Birch Society to the United States at the present time?
___(1) A great danger
___(2) Some danger
___(3) Hardly any danger
___(4) No danger

42. In general, how much do you believe that you as an individual can do about the Vietnam conflict?
___(1) A great deal
___(2) A moderate amount
___(3) Hardly anything
___(4) Nothing at all

43. Since you have become a member of the clergy has your political orientation:
___(1) Become more liberal
___(2) Become more conservative
___(3) Stayed the same

44. Please check all the following in which you participated regarding civil rights activities. If you have not participated, please check the "none" category.
___(1) None
___(2) Contributed money
___(3) Belonged to civil rights organization(s).
Please specify organization____________________
___(4) Attended rallies
___(5) Participated in demonstrations
___(6) Other activity (specify)________________________

45. Please check all the following in which you have participated regarding anti-Vietnam War activities. If you have not participated please check the "none" category.
___(1) None
___(2) Contributed money
___(3) Belonged to anti-Vietnam War Organization(s).
Please specify organization(s)________________
___(4) Attended rallies
___(5) Participated in demonstrations
___(6) Other (Specify)________________________________

46. Regarding Vietnam, which of the following would you prefer the United States to do?
___(1) Withdraw completely from Vietnam
___(2) Scale down United States military activities to include only control of key cities
___(3) Gradually pull out troops, provide only military advice, technical and economic assistance
___(4) Maintain present level of commitment
___(5) Go all out in order to win

47. Please indicate the activity or activities you think admitted members of the John Birch Society should be allowed. The activity you circle assumes that you would allow all activities listed above the circled one.
___(1) None of the following activities
___(2) Publish views in a national magazine
___(3) Give a speech in a public auditorium
___(4) Teach in a public university
___(5) Teach in a public high school

48. Please indicate the activity or activities you think admitted members of the American Communist Party should be allowed. The activity circled assumes you would allow all activities listed above the circled one.

___(1) None of the following activities
___(2) Publish views in a national magazine
___(3) Give a speech in a public auditorium
___(4) Teach in a public university
___(5) Teach in a public high school

49. In general, how much do you believe that people working as a group or organization can do about the Vietnam conflict?

___(1) A great deal
___(2) A moderate amount
___(3) Hardly anything
___(4) Nothing at all

50. On the whole, to what extent should the government attempt to insure people adequate incomes, housing, education and so on?

___(1) The government should be less involved than it is at present
___(2) The government should stay about the same as it is now
___(3) The government should do more in these areas
___(4) The government should insure a minimum income for all citizens

51. What political party do you support?

___(1) Republican
___(2) Democrat
___(3) Other (please specify)____________
___(4) None

52. On most issues of the day, which of the following political orientations best describe your views?

___(1) Ultra-liberal
___(2) Very liberal
___(3) Somewhat liberal
___(4) Middle of the road
___(5) Somewhat conservative
___(6) Very conservative
___(7) Ultra-conservative

53. On matters of theology which one of the following best describes your position?

___(1) Liberal
___(2) Neo-orthodox
___(3) Conservative
___(4) Fundamentalis

54. How do you feel concerning persons convicted of felonies in the state of California?

___(1) More should be required to serve prison terms than is presently the case
___(2) The rate of imprisonment should remain at about the present level
___(3) The rate of imprisonment should be decreased

55. One of the problems of Christian theology concerns Jews. Which of the following most nearly expresses your position?

___(1) The suffering which Jews have experienced is part of God's punishment for having crucified Christ. Laws by government cannot and should not lessen this suffering

___(2) While God does not continue to punish Jews, Jews and Christians should have as little as possible to do with one another

___(3) With the exception of marriage to Jews who do not convert to Christianity or agree to have the children brought up in the Christian church, all relations between Jews and Christians are acceptable

___(4) Christians should have the same relations with Jews as they would have with other Christians

56. A current issue is the sale and rental of private housing. Which of the following comes the closest to describing your feelings?

___(1) No laws should be passed which would interfere with people doing exactly as they please with the sale and rental of their property

___(2) Although refusing to sell or rent property to people because of race and/or religion is wrong, laws opposing discrimination are not enforceable. I am therefore opposed to such laws

___(3) Laws prohibiting discrimination in the sale and rental of property should apply only to large apartments and the sale of newly constructed tract homes

___(4) Discrimination in the sale and rental of property is morally wrong and should be prohibited by law

57. Which of the following strategies do you most approve for Negroes?

___(1) Negroes already have their rights; the civil rights movement should be stopped

___(2) Negroes should stop pushing so hard. Things should be improved in a gradual manner

___(3) Negroes should keep the pressure on with sit-ins and demonstrations

___(4) Negroes should be willing to use violent methods to get their rights if non-violence doesn't work

58. Although one might feel that both of the following statements are worthy guides for individuals' actions, which of the following would you give greater value?
___(1) A person's most important responsibility is to help himself and not rely on others any more than is necessary
___(2) A person's most important responsibility is to help achieve common goals that benefit as a whole

59. Which of the following most nearly expresses your opinion?
___(1) People should be left alone to help themselves more
___(2) Every effort should be made to give aid to people who are in need or not as well off as most people

60. What was your age at your last birthday?__________

61. Are you a member of a racial minority?
___(1) Yes If yes, please specify________________
___(2) No

62. Please check all the following which pertain to your educational background
___(1) Self educated with little formal education
___(2) Some college
___(3) B.S. or B.A. degree - Specify major field of study______________
___(4) Some graduate work - Specify major field of study______________
___(5) Masters degree - Specify major field of study________________
___(6) Doctoral degree - Specify major field of study________________
___(7) Attended institution for training of clergy such as a seminary
___(8) Graduated from an institution for training of clergy such as a seminary

This page may be used for general comments regarding the questionnaire and/or remarks about specific items. If you felt that some items were unclear, did not apply to your situation or gave no alternatives which stated your position, please indicate on this page. Please insert additional pages if more space is needed.

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